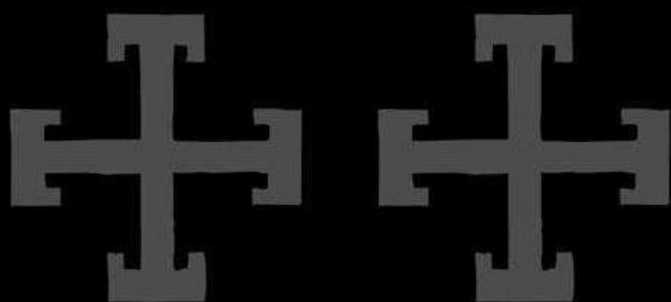


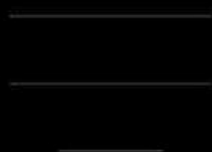
*The Library of  
Eusebius of Caesarea*



BY

ANDREW JAMES

CARRIKER



THE LIBRARY OF EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA

SUPPLEMENTS TO  
VIGILIAE CHRISTIANAE

*Formerly Philosophia Patrum*

TEXTS AND STUDIES OF EARLY CHRISTIAN LIFE  
AND LANGUAGE

EDITORS

J. DEN BOEFT — J. VAN OORT — W.L. PETERSEN  
D.T. RUNIA — C. SCHOLTEN — J.C.M. VAN WINDEN

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# THE LIBRARY OF EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA

BY

ANDREW CARRIKER



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## ABBREVIATIONS

ACW	Ancient Christian Writers
AGB	<i>Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens</i>
AHR	<i>American Historical Review</i>
AJAH	<i>American Journal of Ancient History</i>
AJP	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i>
ASP	American Studies in Papyrology
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
BICS	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies</i>
CP	<i>Classical Philology</i>
CQ	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
DCB	<i>Dictionary of Christian Biography</i>
DHGE	<i>Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastique</i>
DMOA	Documenta et monumenta orientis antiquae
DOP	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
EEC	<i>Encyclopedia of the Early Church</i>
EPRO	Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain
FGrH	F. Jacoby, <i>Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> (Berlin, 1923–1958)
FHG	C. Müller, <i>Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum</i> (Paris, 1841–1870)
FPhG	F. Mullach, <i>Fragmenta Philosophorum Graecorum</i> (Paris, 1860–1881)
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller
GRBS	<i>Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies</i>
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
JAC	<i>Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum</i>
JEH	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
JJS	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
JRA	<i>Journal of Roman Archaeology</i>
JRH	<i>Journal of Religious History</i>
JRS	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
JTS	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>

PG	J.-P. Migne, <i>Patrologia</i> , series graeca
PL	J.-P. Migne, <i>Patrologia</i> , series latina
PTS	Patristische Texte und Studien
RAC	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i>
RE	<i>Realencyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft</i>
REG	<i>Revue des études grecques</i>
RHR	<i>Revue d'histoire des religions</i>
RSLR	<i>Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa</i>
SBLSP	<i>Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers</i>
SC	Sources chrétiennes
SO	<i>Symbolae Osloenses</i>
SVF	J. von Arnim, <i>Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta</i> (Leipzig, 1903–1924)
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur
VP	[Porphyry,] <i>Vita Plotini</i>
YCS	<i>Yale Classical Studies</i>
ZAC	<i>Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum</i>
ZKG	<i>Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte</i>
ZNTW	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>

## PREFACE

The purpose of this book is to establish the contents of Eusebius' library at Caesarea Maritima in Palestine. Founded by Origen to support his biblical criticism and teaching, the library survived to furnish Eusebius with materials for his own scholarship. Its importance as a Christian center of education and scholarship lies in its collection of Christian and Jewish texts, but also in its collection of Greek literature, primarily philosophical and historical works. Eusebius lived at a point of transition from the pagan Graeco-Roman world to the Christian Roman Empire. This investigation of Eusebius' library offers a glimpse of Greek Christian culture at one moment in this transition. It thus aims to examine what kind of literature was available at a library created and used by Christian scholars in Palestinian Caesarea in the early fourth century, at the time when Constantine gained sole possession of the Roman Empire and bestowed official patronage on the Church.

There are no secure physical traces of the library at Caesarea, and, unlike some medieval libraries, no catalogue of its collection survives. Despite Jerome's reference to this library as the *bibliotheca Origenis et Pamphili*,<sup>1</sup> the two men who endowed it with its greatest bibliographic wealth, the modern investigation of the library at Caesarea must focus on the library in the possession of Eusebius, Pamphilus' pupil, for Eusebius furnishes the most evidence of its contents in his voluminous extant writings. Four of these works contain the most important evidence and have accordingly been given the most attention: the *Chronicon* for historical works; the *Historia Ecclesiastica* (*HE*) for Jewish and Christian works; the *Praeparatio Evangelica* (*PE*) for philosophical and historical works; and the *Vita Constantini* (*VC*) for contemporary documents. The primary work of this book is thus to reconstruct the contents of the library from the quotations and references in these four works. Some of the difficulties of this task,

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<sup>1</sup> Jerome designates the library at Caesarea in this way in his entry on Euzoius, who in the middle of the fourth century *plurimo labore corruptam iam bibliothecam Origenis et Pamphili in membranis instaurare conatus* (*De viris ill.* 113). This passage is discussed further below in the first chapter, pp. 23–24.

most notably the problem of establishing whether Eusebius used his sources firsthand or through intermediaries, are treated in chapter two.

I have occasionally had to consult other works by Eusebius: the *Defense of Origen* (in this case, a work by Pamphilus), *Martyrs of Palestine*, *Contra Hieroclem*, *Demonstratio Evangelica* (DE), *Theophany*, *Commentary on the Psalms*, *Contra Marcellum*, *De ecclesiastica theologia*, and *Laus Constantini*. But by no means have I worked through them as thoroughly as I have the four main works listed above; in some cases I have only consulted indices or select passages. These other works, however, while they have augmented the results of this study, do not contain the mass and variety of evidence that appears in the *Chronicon*, *HE*, *PE*, and *VC*.

There is, in addition, evidence of what might be termed a second order: (a) references in Origen's works, especially those written at Caesarea, like his *Contra Celsum* (CC); (b) the letters and *De viris illustribus* of Jerome, who used the library at Caesarea in the early fifth century; and (c) the subscriptions found in late ancient and medieval manuscripts that can be traced back to Caesarea. On the basis of this evidence, one can attribute works to the Caesarean library at particular dates. Often, this evidence will confirm that certain works were available at Caesarea.

There is abundant modern scholarship that can help to detect the individual sources Eusebius used in various books or parts of books. There is, however, no treatment, apart from what can be found in encyclopedias, of this general topic of the contents of Eusebius' library.<sup>2</sup> This book is intended to fill a gap in scholarship by considering the fundamental problem of what books could be found in Eusebius' library. In 1954, in the introduction to his critical edition of the *Praeparatio Evangelica*, Karl Mras observed the need for research on the library at Caesarea and gave his own general evaluation of the contents of the library.<sup>3</sup> According to Mras, the library contained

<sup>2</sup> For example, C. Dziatzko, "Bibliotheken," *RE* III.1 (1897), col. 420; C. Wendel, "Bibliothek," *RAC* II (1954), cols. 247–248; idem in F. Milkau and G. Leyh, edd., *Handbuch der Bibliothekswissenschaft* (Leipzig, 1940), III.131–133; Anonymous, "Bibliothekswesen II," *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* VI (1980), p. 414; G. Cavallo, "Scuola, scriptorium, biblioteca a Cesarea," *Le biblioteche nel mondo antico e medievale*, G. Cavallo, ed., Biblioteca Universale Laterza 250 (Bari, 1988), pp. 67–78; K. Vössing, "Bibliothek," *Der neue Pauly* II (1997), cols. 645–646.

<sup>3</sup> K. Mras, *Die PE*, p. lvii, note 1: "Diese Bibliothek würde eine eigene Untersuchung

no works of tragedians or comic or lyric poets, and no original works by Stoics and Epicureans, though it was rich in the works of historians and later Platonists.<sup>4</sup> This judgment can now be modified and amplified.

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verdienen." More recently, D. T. Runia, "Caesarea Maritima and the Survival of Hellenistic-Jewish Literature," *Caesarea Maritima: a Retrospective after Two Millennia*, A. Raban and K. G. Holum, edd., DMOA 21 (Leiden, 1996), p. 477, has declared, "Indeed, the history of the Caesarean library and its influence is a monograph waiting to be written."

<sup>4</sup> K. Mras, *Die PE*, pp. lvii–lviii. This judgment is often repeated. See, for example, R. M. Grant, "Porphyry among the Early Christians," *Romanitas et Christianitas*, W. den Boer et al., edd. (Amsterdam, 1973), p. 183; T. D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius* (Cambridge, MA, 1981), pp. 93–94 and 183; and, merely repeating Barnes, H. Y. Gamble, *Books and Readers in the Early Church: a History of Early Christian Texts* (New Haven, 1995), p. 156 and note 34.



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## CHAPTER ONE

### CAESAREA AND THE HISTORY OF THE LIBRARY

Herod the Great established the city of Caesarea Maritima, named in honor of the emperor Augustus, between 22 and 9 BC on the foundation of Strato's Tower. The new city boasted an extraordinary harbor, a fine palace, a large temple dedicated to Roma and Augustus, and other marks of Graeco-Roman urban culture: a theatre, amphitheatre, and aqueduct. Still more ornaments were added later, including a hippodrome and second aqueduct constructed by Hadrian. Caesarea was the official residence of the Roman imperial prefects and legates of Judaea, became a Roman colony under Vespasian, and attained the status of metropolis under Alexander Severus. The population, approaching perhaps 45,000 in the middle of the first century, consisted of Greeks, Jews, and Samaritans, and a Christian community appears to have been established in apostolic times. By any measure, Caesarea was a prosperous and sophisticated city.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> On Caesarea see I. Benziger, "Caesarea (10)," *RE* III.1 (1897), cols. 1291–1294; R. Janin, "Césarée de Palestine," *DHGE* 12 (1953), cols. 206–209; L. I. Levine, *Caesarea under Roman Rule*, Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity 7 (Leiden, 1975); J. Ringel, *Césarée de Palestine: étude historique et archéologique* (Paris, 1975); B. Lifshitz, "Césarée de Palestine: son histoire et ses institutions," *ANRW* II.8 (1977), pp. 490–518; K. Holum, et al., edd., *King Herod's Dream: Caesarea on the Sea* (New York, 1988); K. Holum and A. Raban, edd., *Caesarea Maritima: a Retrospective after Two Millennia*, DMOA 21 (Leiden, 1996). The American Schools of Oriental Research also publish the Joint Expedition to Caesarea Maritima Excavation Reports.

The estimation of Caesarea's population as "at least fifty thousand" in AD 66 is a conjecture made by K. Holum, et al., *King Herod's Dream*, p. 75, on the basis of Josephus' claim at *B. J.* 2.18.1 (457) (and cf. 7.8.7 [361–362]) that more than 20,000 Jews, nearly the city's entire Jewish population, were killed by pagans at the beginning of the Jewish Revolt. Caesarea is accordingly ranked "among the twenty or so largest cities in the Mediterranean world." It is, however, too dangerous to rely on Josephus' numbers. A more reliable indicator of Caesarea's population is the city's area. According to the table that M. Broshi gives in "The Population of Western Palestine in the Roman-Byzantine Period," *BASOR* 236 (1979), p. 5, the area of Caesarea was only 95 ha, a figure drawn from M. Avi-Yonah, "Palaestina," *RE* Suppl. 13 (1973), cols. 373–374. If urban population density is estimated to be 400 people per hectare (Broshi, p. 5), then Caesarea's population should have been about 38,000. But from the recent site plan published in R. L. Vann, ed., *Caesarea*

Apart from its political and economic importance, however, Caesarea should attract our attention because of the library that made it an intellectual center. It is possible that, when he planned his new city, Herod provided for a public library, and no doubt the Jewish community had a collection of its own Scriptures and rabbinic writings.<sup>2</sup> But the Christian library at Caesarea would surpass these foundations.

## I

The first evidence of the library at Caesarea derives from a synodal letter that was drawn up somewhere in Palestine during the Paschal Controversy in ca. 190 and from which Eusebius quotes in his *HE* (V.25). Theophilus, the bishop of Caesarea at the time, attended the synod and participated in the drafting of this letter. Because of his role as bishop and co-author of the letter, Theophilus surely retained a copy of the letter and kept it with other such ecclesiastical documents. These documents, the records of synodal pronouncements and the bishop's correspondence with other churches, were probably stored in an archive, which may in addition have contained copies of the Scriptures and other books for liturgical use.<sup>3</sup> Because such ecclesiastical collections may have contained copies of the Scrip-

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*Papers*, JRA Suppl. 5 (Ann Arbor, 1992), p. 244, I would estimate that Byzantine Caesarea comprised ca. 110–120 ha. The population of Caesarea would thus have been ca. 44,000–48,000. By comparison, in the same article (p. 5) Broshi estimates the area of Jerusalem to be 120 ha, which would indicate a population of 48,000, although it should be noted that Broshi gives different numbers in “Estimating the Population of Ancient Jerusalem,” *Biblical Archaeological Review* 4 (1978), pp. 13–14: the population of Jerusalem in ca. 66 was approximately 80,000 people in an area of about 450 acres (180 ha). J. Patrich, “Urban Space in Caesarea Maritima, Israel,” *Urban Centers and Rural Contexts in Late Antiquity*, T. S. Burns and J. W. Eadie, edd. (East Lansing, MI, 2001), p. 80 and note 10, reports the area of Caesarea as 124.5 ha and the population as 35,000.

<sup>2</sup> On the Jewish libraries, see briefly C. Wendel, “Bibliothek,” *RAC* II (1954), cols. 236–238; H. Y. Gamble, *Books and Readers in the Early Church: a History of Early Christian Texts* (New Haven, 1995), pp. 189–196.

<sup>3</sup> It is possible that such an archive included documents issued by the government that related to the Church, but the evidence in Eusebius does not lend much support to this idea, since the few official documents quoted in the *HE* were found second hand in literary works: for example, Justin Martyr provided a rescript of Hadrian (*HE* IV.9); Melito of Sardis' apology provided a rescript of Antoninus Pius (*HE* IV.13 and see *infra* on Melito, pp. 272–275); Dionysius of Alexandria furnished a rescript of Gallienus (*HE* VII.13). But later Eusebius collected official documents, particularly those of Constantine.

tures and because it is unclear where such books and documents were located (whether in churches, with clergymen, or in other private residences), H. Y. Gamble has recently called such collections “congregational libraries.”<sup>4</sup> The term “archive” may nevertheless be appropriate here insofar as it emphasizes that ecclesiastical records and episcopal correspondence were probably preserved at Caesarea from the late second century—and possibly even earlier, since Christianity reached Caesarea in apostolic times.<sup>5</sup>

A true library, with works of literature and scholarship, can be said to have been established at Caesarea when the great Alexandrian biblical scholar Origen (ca. 185–253) settled at Caesarea during the episcopate of Theoctistus (ca. 220–260). In the year 230 Origen became embroiled in a dispute with his bishop, Demetrius, and was frequently absent from Alexandria; by 232 Origen had been ordained a presbyter at Caesarea, which became Origen’s home for the next twenty years.

After the martyrdom of his father in 202/3, Origen completed his education, and, at the age of eighteen (ca. 203), he became a professional teacher of literature and even began to supervise the instruction of catechumens.<sup>6</sup> During another bout of persecution (between 206 and 210),<sup>7</sup> Origen increasingly devoted himself to catechetical

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<sup>4</sup> H. Y. Gamble, *Books and Readers*, pp. 145–154, discusses these “congregational libraries,” which he defines as “collections of texts accumulated and retained in local Christian communities for liturgical and archival purposes” (p. 145).

<sup>5</sup> J. A. McGuckin, “Caesarea Maritima as Origen Knew It,” *Origeniana Quinta*, R. J. Daly, ed., BETL 105 (Leuven, 1992), p. 16, similarly speaks of “archives” when referring to these ecclesiastical documents. For the evangelization of Caesarea, see Acts 8:40; 21:8 (Philip preached at Caesarea and then settled there with his daughters); 10 (Peter baptizes the centurion Cornelius); 9:30; 18:22; 21:8; 23:23; 25:1–5 (Paul).

<sup>6</sup> *HE* VI.2.2–6 and 12 (martyrdom of Origen’s father, Leonides, in the tenth year of Septimius Severus); *HE* VI.2.13–15 (a wealthy widow helps Origen to finish his studies); *HE* VI.3.1–3 (Origen teaches literature and becomes head of the catechetical school). The “catechetical school” at Alexandria is the subject of much scholarly debate; some recent scholars have been inclined to accept the possibility that there was already a long tradition of some form of Christian education before Origen began to teach in the “school.”

See A. van den Hoek, “The ‘Catechetical’ School of Early Christian Alexandria and Its Philonic Heritage,” *HTR* 90 (1997), p. 71; C. Scholten, “Die alexandrinische Katechetenschule,” *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 38 (1995), pp. 36–37; but contrast R. van den Broek, “The Christian ‘School’ of Alexandria in the Second and Third Centuries,” *Centres of Learning: Learning and Location in Pre-Modern Europe and the Near East*, J. W. Drijvers and A. A. MacDonald, edd., Brill’s Studies in Intellectual History 61 (Leiden, 1995), p. 41.

<sup>7</sup> *HE* VI.3.3 (persecution under Aquila the governor). Eusebius says that Origen

instruction, and soon he ceased to teach pagan literature altogether and sold his “volumes of ancient literature” for the daily payment of four obols, that he might embrace the Christian life more fully.<sup>8</sup> “For a great number of years” Origen lived in the ascetic manner of a philosopher, spending his nights reading Scripture. Presumably, Origen eventually began to collect “ancient books” again. Origen can be expected to have expanded his library when he limited himself to the advanced students in the catechetical school, after he had recently returned from a voyage to Rome in ca. 215 (*HE* VI.14.10–VI.15).<sup>9</sup> At this time Origen may have discovered the “fifth” version of the Hebrew Scriptures at Nicopolis, near Actium (*HE* VI.16.2).<sup>10</sup> It was at approximately this time, too, that Origen converted a man

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was eighteen years old when he became head of the catechetical school, so the date ought to be ca. 204. But Aquila was in office between 206 and 211; see Lawlor and Oulton II.191–192; also T. D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius* (Cambridge, MA, 1981) [hereinafter *CE*], p. 83 and note 18. C. Scholten, “Katechetenschule,” *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* (1995), p. 19, however, rejects the ordinary practice of dating Origen’s direction of the school to between 206 and 211; he instead puts it in 203.

<sup>8</sup> *HE* VI.3.8–9 (Bishop Demetrius acknowledges Origen as director of the catechetical school; Origen gives up his secular career). On the sale of Origen’s books, see *HE* VI.3.8–9: ἀσύμφωνον ἡγησάμενος τὴν τῶν γραμματικῶν λόγων διδασκαλίαν τῇ πρὸς τὰ θεῖα παιδεύματα ἀσκήσει . . . ὅσαπερ ἦν αὐτῷ πρότερον λόγων ἀρχαίων συγγράμματα φιλοκάλως ἐσπουδασμένα, μεταδούς, ὑπὸ τοῦ ταῦτα ἐωνημένου φερομένοις αὐτῷ τέτταρσιν ὀβολοῖς τῆς ἡμέρας ἤρκειτο. πλείστοις τε ἔτεσιν τοῦτον φιλοσοφῶν διετέλει τὸν τρόπον . . . (“Considering that the teaching of letters [or, literature] was not consonant with training in the divine studies . . . he disposed of all the volumes of ancient literature which formerly he so fondly cherished, content if he who purchased them brought him four obols a day. For a great number of years he continued to live like a philosopher in this wise . . .” [Oulton, trans.]).

<sup>9</sup> What exactly Origen taught these advanced students is not known. At *HE* VI.15 Eusebius reports that Origen divided the catechetical students between himself and Heraclas: τῷ [Heraclas] μὲν τὴν πρώτην τῶν ἄρτι στοιχειουμένων εἰσαγωγὴν ἐπιτρέψας, αὐτῷ [Origen] δὲ τὴν τῶν ἐν ἑξεί φυλάξας φυλάξας ἀκρόασιν (“entrusting to him [Heraclas] the initial elementary teaching of those being instructed in basic principles, but keeping for himself [Origen] the lectures for the experienced students”). Heraclas thus taught at the elementary level, Origen at the advanced level. At *HE* VI.18.3 Eusebius relates how Origen taught geometry, arithmetic, and other introductory subjects, explained the various philosophical schools, and discussed works of philosophy. P. Nautin, *Origène: sa vie et son oeuvre*, Christianisme antique 1 (Paris, 1977), pp. 49–53, contends that Eusebius’ description of this program at Alexandria actually relies on what Gregory Thaumaturgus tells in his *Panegyric* of Origen’s later school at Caesarea. On the other hand, C. Scholten, “Katechetenschule,” *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* (1995), p. 18, note 9, thinks it unlikely that Origen would create an entirely new educational system at Caesarea.

<sup>10</sup> Origen may have discovered this version during his journey to Rome. On the dating, see T. D. Barnes, *CE*, p. 84 and note 25. P. Nautin, *Origène*, p. 411, dates the discovery to 245.

named Ambrose from Valentinian Gnosticism (*HE* VI.18.1). This Ambrose soon became an influential patron, for he encouraged Origen to write on specific topics and facilitated the process of his writing, supplying Origen in Alexandria with more than seven shorthand secretaries who relieved each other at intervals, no fewer copyists, and girls skilled in calligraphy (*HE* VI.23). Ambrose's patronage continued at Caesarea and lasted till late in Origen's life,<sup>11</sup> and one must suppose that, in addition to furnishing copyists for Origen's dictation, Ambrose also used his resources to obtain the works that Origen wished to consult as he composed his own books. In a fragment of one of his letters, Origen relates how (probably at Caesarea) Ambrose kept him studying and correcting copies of manuscripts (φιλολογεῖν καὶ ἀκριβοῦν τὰ ἀντίγραφα) from dawn till evening, even through meals.<sup>12</sup>

Presumably, such books as Origen had in his possession at the time he moved permanently to Caesarea in ca. 232 came with him. One such book, for example, must have been Heracleon's commentary on the Gospel of John, since Origen used Heracleon's work throughout his own *Commentary on John*, which he began at Alexandria (ca. 231) and continued at Caesarea (ca. 234 and afterward).<sup>13</sup> Origen may have brought his collection of the works of Philo to Caesarea at this time, as well.<sup>14</sup>

At Caesarea Origen became a member of the Caesarean church, but he was nevertheless able to travel to various locations where he may have acquired books for his library.<sup>15</sup> Even before his final move to Caesarea, Origen travelled to Antioch (231/232) (*HE* VI.21.3–4), and after he settled in Caesarea, Origen visited Athens in ca. 233 and 245; Arabia at least twice for ecclesiastical synods (*HE* VI.33

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<sup>11</sup> Origen dedicates such late works as the *Commentary on John* (ca. 231–234) and *Contra Celsum* (ca. 248) to Ambrose. But this important patronage cannot have lasted to the very end of Origen's life, if Jerome's report at *De viris ill.* 56 is correct that Ambrose died before Origen.

<sup>12</sup> The passage of Origen's letter is cited in the Suidas lexicon (s.v. Origen) and by George Cedrenus (PG 121: 485C). The letter is undated, but see the discussion of P. Nautin, *Lettres et écrivains chrétiens* (Paris, 1961), pp. 250–252, for the argument that Origen addressed the letter to Pope Fabian (236–250).

<sup>13</sup> On Heracleon, see below in Chapter VII, p. 208. The dates are given by P. Nautin, *Origène* (Paris, 1977), pp. 427 and 433.

<sup>14</sup> See further on Philo in Chapter VI, pp. 164–177.

<sup>15</sup> J. A. McGuckin, "Caesarea Maritima," *Origeniana Quinta*, p. 20, even supposes that part of Origen's obligation during his travels was to acquire manuscripts for the Caesarean library.

and 37); Caesarea in Cappadocia (*HE* VI.27); Nicomedia (*Ep. ad African.* 15); and Jerusalem (*Hom. in 1 Sam.* 1). Ambrose presumably furnished Origen with constant financial support for these enterprises, but it is possible that other wealthy Christians in Caesarea also assisted Origen in his travels and his acquisition and production of books.<sup>16</sup>

Origen not only used his library for his own biblical scholarship at Caesarea, but he also utilized its resources in the “school” that developed under him. The panegyric of Origen attributed to Gregory Thaumaturgus (cf. *HE* VI.29.4) attests that Origen took in students, whom he provided with a philosophical and ultimately theological education. Like much education in philosophy in this period, Origen’s school at Caesarea may be considered a circle of devoted students and their master.<sup>17</sup> Nevertheless, because Origen was a member of the Caesarean clergy, his school must have operated with the permission of Origen’s bishop, Theoctistus. While at Alexandria Origen’s bishop, Demetrius, had to try, by the commission he granted to Origen to direct the school there (*HE* VI.3.8), to extend his authority over a layman’s work,<sup>18</sup> at Caesarea it seems likely that Origen’s school was from the first established under Theoctistus’ episcopal supervision. The Caesarean school, however, in the view of some modern scholars, cannot be classified as a catechetical school or even as an advanced theological institute, since Origen’s aim was, through the study of philosophy, to introduce pagans to Christianity and Christians to classical culture.<sup>19</sup> But, while Bishop Theoctistus may have pro-

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<sup>16</sup> A roll of papyrus by itself, for example, could easily cost a day’s wages or more of a skilled laborer. But the wealthy probably did not find the cost too burdensome: see N. Lewis, *Papyrus in Classical Antiquity* (Oxford, 1974), pp. 129–134; see also p. 101 for examples (though in Egypt) of how large estates used numerous rolls in the course of their business transactions.

<sup>17</sup> See H. Lapin, “Jewish and Christian Academies in Roman Palestine: Some Preliminary Observations,” *Caesarea Maritima: a Retrospective* (Leiden, 1996), p. 500.

<sup>18</sup> See C. Scholten, “Katechetenschule,” *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* (1995), pp. 31–32; similarly, R. van den Broek, “The Christian ‘School’ of Alexandria,” *Centres of Learning*, p. 44. This is not to say that catechetical instruction as it was conducted before Origen, that is, by Pantaenus and then Clement, necessarily fell outside the “penumbra of the church”: see A. van den Hoek, “The ‘Catechetical’ School,” *HTR* (1997), pp. 71–79.

<sup>19</sup> A. Knauber, “Das Anliegen der Schule des Origenes zu Cäsarea,” *Münchener theologische Zeitschrift* 19 (1968), pp. 182–203, argues that Origen’s school had a missionary aim of making Christianity palatable to pagans. H. Crouzel, “L’école d’Origène à Césarée: postscriptum à une édition de Grégoire le Thaumaturge,” *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique* 71 (1970), pp. 15–27, adds that Christians also stud-

vided other means by which catechumens could gain instruction, the educational goal of Origen's school need not have been practiced exclusive of the catechetical instruction of those who desired baptism. Origen did not begin his instruction with Christian doctrine, but certainly the end of his instruction was Scripture and, as a result, the Christian mystery.<sup>20</sup>

At the end of his career at Alexandria Origen had taught only the more advanced students (*HE* VI.15), but at Caesarea he ushered his students from an introduction to philosophy to an introduction to theology. Gregory Thaumaturgus' studies began with dialectic and advanced to natural science (especially geometry and astronomy) and thence to ethics, the threefold composition of a traditional curriculum in philosophy (*Pan.* 7–14; cf. *HE* VI.18.3–4).<sup>21</sup> Origen then proceeded to introduce Gregory to the interpretation of Scripture (*Pan.* 15). Gregory's description of how he was instructed indicates that Origen had ample resources for his teaching. Origen encouraged his pupils to study philosophy but also to read other works, including poetry, whether by Greeks or not.<sup>22</sup> The only works to be avoided

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ied with Origen. Both reject the idea that Origen's school was a catechetical school or theological institute. On the other hand, P. Nautin, *Origène*, pp. 183–197, maintains that Origen's training of Gregory was devised especially for this pupil, and so Gregory's panegyric cannot be said to describe the curriculum at Origen's school.

<sup>20</sup> Pace E. Pack, "Socialgeschichtliche Aspekte des Fehlens einer 'christlichen' Schule in der römischen Kaiserzeit," *Religion und Gesellschaft in der römischen Kaiserzeit*, W. Eck, ed. (Cologne and Vienna, 1989), p. 198. Note what Gregory Thaumaturgus says at *Pan.* 15 (178) about Origen's explanations of Scripture: εἴ τις σκληρὸς τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ ἄπιστος ἢ καὶ φιλομαθὴς ὢν τύχοι, παρὰ τούτου [sc. Origen] μαθὼν καὶ συνεῖναι καὶ πιστεῦειν ἐλέσθαι ἀναγκάζεται τινὰ τρόπον καὶ ἔπεισθαι θεῷ. ("If there should be anyone of unyielding and mistrustful soul, or someone eager for knowledge, he would, by learning from this man [Origen], be compelled to understand, and to choose to believe, and in some way to follow God.")

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Origen's *Hom. in Gen.* 14:3 (GCS 6, p. 124, 17) and H. Crouzel, *Origène et la philosophie*, Théologie 52 (Paris, 1962), pp. 22–25, esp. p. 23 and note 25. The order in which these three components were studied in antiquity was not always uniform. Cf. *PE* XI.2.1–5, an extract from the Platonist Atticus, for the order ethics, physics, dialectic.

<sup>22</sup> Gregory Thaumaturgus, *Pan.* 13 (151): φιλοσοφεῖν μὲν γὰρ ἡξίου ἀναλεγομένουσ τῶν ἀρχαίων πάντα ὅσα καὶ φιλοσόφων καὶ ὑμνωδῶν ἐστὶ γράμματα πάσῃ δυνάμει, μηδὲν ἐκποιουμένους μηδ' ἀποδοκιμάζοντας (οὐδέπω γὰρ οὐδὲ τὴν κρίσιν ἔχειν). ("For he deemed it right for us to study philosophy in such wise, that we should read with utmost diligence all that has been written, both by the philosophers and by the poets of old, rejecting nothing, and repudiating nothing (for, indeed, we did not yet possess the power of critical discernment)" [Salmond, trans.].) See also *Pan.* 13 (153): τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς πᾶσιν ἐντυγχάνειν καὶ προσομιλεῖν, γένος μὲν οὐδὲ ἐν οὐδὲ λόγον φιλόσοφον προτιμήσαντας οὔτε αὖ ἀποδοκιμάσαντας, οὔτε Ἑλληνικὸν οὔτε



were those by “atheists” who denied the existence of God and Providence (*Pan.* 13), probably a designation of the Epicureans.<sup>23</sup> In the study of philosophy itself, Origen selected material from different philosophical schools in order to introduce his students to a wide variety of philosophical opinions (*Pan.* 14). Origen would later explain to Gregory that Christians ought to take what is good in Greek learning and use it as a preparation for Christianity, just as the Israelites spoiled the Egyptians of their wealth (*Ep. ad Greg.* 2 [= *Philocalia* 13.2]).

Such instruction required a library of not only Christian texts but also Greek philosophical texts and other non-Christian works, Greek and non-Greek. According to the evidence of Gregory’s panegyric, Origen must have had numerous philosophical works available, probably introductory philosophical handbooks as well as complete texts. Similarly, works of poetry must have been available, whether in florilegia or in complete texts, as also historical and religious works. The library that Origen brought to Caesarea and then augmented during his twenty years at Caesarea must have been sufficient to fulfill the needs of Origen and his students. The detailed examination of the works in Eusebius’ library that follows in this book indicates the likelihood that Origen’s own library contained works by Alexander Polyhistor, Aristobulus, Chaeremon, Chrysippus, Heracleon, Hermas, Ignatius of Antioch, Josephus, Melito of Sardis, Numenius, Oenomaus, Philo of Alexandria, Philo of Byblos, Plato, Plutarch, and

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βάρβαρον, πάντων δὲ ἀκούοντας. (“[He thought, however,] that we should read and be conversant with all other writings, neither preferring nor rejecting any one kind, whether it be philosophical discourse or not, whether Greek or foreign, but hearing what all of them have to convey.” [Salmond, trans., slightly altered].)

<sup>23</sup> Gregory Thaumaturgus, *Pan.* 13 (152): πλὴν ὅσα τῶν ἀθέων εἴη, ὅσοι . . . οὐκ εἶναι θεὸν ἢ πρόνοιαν λέγουσι. . . . Origen, in charging that Celsus was an Epicurean, makes clear in the *Contra Celsum* that Epicureans, who deny divine Providence and hold out pleasure as a goal, were atheists (for example, I.8; III.35; IV.75). But in his edition of *Grégoire le Thaumaturge, Remerciement à Origène*, SC #148 (Paris, 1969), p. 69, H. Crouzel adds that Peripatetics may also have been meant. Crouzel gives a more complete treatment in *Origène et la philosophie*, pp. 27–35, in which he tends to restrict the atheists to Epicureans but points out how Origen sometimes linked criticism of Peripatetics to criticism of Epicureans. C. Marksches, “Epikureismus bei Origenes und in der origenistischen Tradition,” *Epikureismus in der späten Republik und der Kaiserzeit*, M. Erler, ed., Philosophie der Antike 11 (Stuttgart, 2000), pp. 193–194, also associates the atheists with Epicureans. R. Jungkuntz, “Fathers, Heretics and Epicureans,” *JEH* 17 (1966), pp. 3–10, shows how Epicureans were routinely blamed for various heretical beliefs.

possibly Zeno, as well as the anonymous *Altercatio Iasonis et Papisci*, Old Testament pseudepigrapha, and New Testament apocrypha.

It is likely that still other works in Eusebius' library were originally deposited by Origen: histories, Scriptural aids, works of philosophy and philosophical handbooks, and florilegia of poetry. Porphyry, who in his youth met Origen (probably, therefore, at Caesarea), acknowledges how familiar Origen was with the writings of Plato, Numenius, Cronius, Apollonphanes, Longinus, Moderatus, Nicomachus, certain Pythagoreans, Chaeremon the Stoic, and Cornutus.<sup>24</sup> Plato, Numenius, and Chaeremon are listed above, and Eusebius' library contained at least one work by Longinus; probably some of the works, in complete texts or otherwise, of the other philosophers Porphyry names were brought to Caesarea by Origen and survived to Eusebius' day. In the matter of philosophical handbooks, such works as the doxographies by Arius Didymus and Ps-Plutarch, which Eusebius used, could have been used originally by Origen in his school. Some scholars have detected evidence of Origen's use of philosophical dictionaries,<sup>25</sup> and further research into Origen's own works will surely yield evidence of other handbooks.<sup>26</sup>

Origen naturally left behind many of his own compositions, certainly those completed at Caesarea. Most of these works were devoted to establishing a Greek text of the Scriptures (the *Tetrapla* and *Hexapla*) and expounding interpretations of them. De Ghellinck is right to emphasize that Origen's efforts to build up Caesarea's collection of biblical manuscripts, particularly his discovery of Greek versions of the Hebrew Scriptures in such places as Nicopolis and nearby Jericho

<sup>24</sup> Eusebius quotes from Porphyry at *HE* VI.19.8. This passage is discussed further in Chapter III.C, pp. 126–127.

<sup>25</sup> See especially R. Cadiou, "Dictionnaires antiques dans l'oeuvre d'Origène," *REG* 45 (1932), pp. 271–281; E. Klostermann, "Überkommene Definitionen im Werke des Origenes," *ZNTW* 37 (1938), pp. 54–61.

<sup>26</sup> For example, M. Frede, "Celsus' Attack on the Christians," *Philosophia Togata II: Plato and Aristotle at Rome*, J. Barnes and M. Griffin, edd. (Oxford, 1997), p. 226, suggests that, in order to ascertain Celsus' identity, Origen must have used some research-tools, perhaps "a list of homonyms of the kind Diogenes Laertius regularly relies on, such as Demetrius of Magnesia's." Perhaps some of Origen's knowledge of contemporary science, especially astronomy, also came from handbooks; A. Scott, *Origen and the Life of the Stars: a History of an Idea* (Oxford, 1991), p. 115, observes that "much of this knowledge was mediated through Origen's careful study of contemporary philosophical literature," but, on the other hand, "much of Origen's understanding of the heavens is once again a repetition of commonplaces familiar in Hellenistic schoolrooms."

(*HE* VI.16.2–3), indicate how spare the Caesarean library's collection was, even in Scriptural texts, before Origen settled at Caesarea.<sup>27</sup> In addition to his own works and the biblical manuscripts he acquired, Origen may have left behind various lexica and dictionaries that he used in his study of Scripture.<sup>28</sup>

According to Eusebius, Origen was a confessor during the Decian persecution (*HE* VI.39.5). Eduard Schwartz supposes that Origen's library was damaged at this time, although there is no direct evidence of it.<sup>29</sup> Probably Schwartz made his conjecture because it helps to explain why Pamphilus later had to expend great effort to acquire copies of Origen's works for the Caesarean library.<sup>30</sup> Decius required that the people of the Roman Empire perform sacrifice and receive certificates (*libelli*) of compliance with the imperial order. In 249 or 250, Origen was arrested, imprisoned, and tortured, but he evidently survived the persecution. It seems, then, that either his case was dismissed or, what is probably more likely, he simply outlived the persecution and was freed in 251.<sup>31</sup> Because Origen's judge had the power to coerce Origen's compliance by imprisonment, torture, and the assessment of fines, even to the extent of confiscation of his personal property,<sup>32</sup> it is possible that his library was damaged, though

<sup>27</sup> J. de Ghellinck, *Patristique et Moyen Age: études d'histoire littéraire et doctrinale* (Brussels and Paris, 1947), II.266.

<sup>28</sup> For example, R. Cadiou, *REG* (1932), p. 283, suggests biblical concordances and dictionaries of foreign languages, as, for example, a Hebrew onomasticon.

<sup>29</sup> E. Schwartz, "Eusebios (24)," *RE* VI.1 (1907), cols. 1371–1372. A. A. Mosshammer, *The Chronicle of Eusebius and Greek Chronographic Tradition* (Lewisburg, PA, 1979), p. 31, follows Schwartz's conjecture, as apparently C. Kannengiesser does (without attribution) in "Eusebius of Caesarea, Origenist," *Eusebius, Christianity, and Judaism*, H. W. Attridge and G. Hata, edd., *Studia Post-Biblica* 42 (Leiden, 1992), p. 436.

<sup>30</sup> Similarly, R. Blum, "Die Literaturverzeichnung im Altertum und Mittelalter," *AGB* 24 (1983), cols. 84 and 86, note 24, concludes that Pamphilus' need to collect Origen's works indicates that the library must have been either dispersed or destroyed after Origen's death. C. Wendel in *Handbuch der Bibliothekswesen* (Leipzig, 1940) III.131, thinks that the library simply remained deserted until Pamphilus' arrival, but this could not have been true, as the present chapter shows.

<sup>31</sup> The first scenario seems to be the interpretation of J. Molthagen, *Der römische Staat und die Christen im zweiten und dritten Jahrhundert*, *Hypomnemata* 28 (Göttingen, 1970), p. 69. The second is implied by G. W. Clarke, *The Letters of St. Cyprian of Carthage*, ACW 43 (New York, 1984), I.36, and appears in H. Crouzel's account of Origen's life: *Origen*, A. S. Worrall, trans. (San Francisco, 1989), p. 35.

<sup>32</sup> In North Africa, for example, Christians who fled from the persecution had their property confiscated: see Cyprian, *De lapsis* 10; *Epp.* 19.2.3; 24.1.1. The bishop himself, St. Cyprian, was proscribed: see his *Epp.* 59.6.1 and 66.4.1. But, G. W. Clarke, *Letters*, I.183, points out that, according to Pontius, *Vita Cypriani* 7.1 and

certainly it was not destroyed, since, for example, the *Hexapla* survived until at least Jerome's day. Indeed, despite the persecution, as well as whatever other misfortunes may have befallen the library after Origen's death, Pamphilus was probably drawn to settle at Caesarea because of the reputation the city enjoyed as the home of Origen's library.<sup>33</sup>

Origen died soon after the end of the persecution, between 251 and 253, at Tyre, according to tradition.<sup>34</sup> Origen's bishop, Theoctistus, survived for almost another decade, through the persecution under Valerian to the restoration of peace by Gallienus in 260 (*HE* VII.5.1; VII.14). Domnus succeeded him for a short time and was himself then succeeded by Theotecnus, whom Eusebius calls a contemporary

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15.1, Cyprian recovered his property. If the Caesarean library was already the property of the Church at this time, rather than of Origen, the matter is a bit more obscure. The persecution was not aimed at the Church and did not entail destruction of ecclesiastical property, but nothing is known of what happened to Origen's bishop, Theoctistus, during the persecution, and if his property was confiscated, some damage may yet have come to the library.

<sup>33</sup> R. Blum, "Die Literaturverzeichnis," *AGB* (1983), col. 86, also notes this possibility.

<sup>34</sup> For Origen's survival of the Decian persecution, see *HE* VI.39.5 and VII.1. Epiphanius, *De mensuris et ponderibus* 19 and Jerome, *De viris ill.* 54 and *Ep.* 84.7, both relate the tradition that Origen died at Tyre. Photius, *cod.* 118, knows a tradition handed down by Pamphilus that Origen perished a martyr at Caesarea during the Decian persecution, but he prefers the tradition that Origen died at Tyre in the reign of Gallus and Volusianus. Eusebius confirms the date of Origen's death (under Gallus) at *HE* VII.1, but he has nothing to say about the location of Origen's death and burial. While Pamphilus must be wrong to make Origen a martyr (though perhaps Origen's martyrdom is to be understood in light of the torture inflicted upon him during the persecution), it is possible that he is correct about the location, Caesarea. The reliability of Jerome and Epiphanius may be questioned; at least in the case of Epiphanius it may be pointed out that in his *Panarion* he named a heresy after Origen (64.1–5) and reported that Origen apostatized during the Decian persecution. (I owe this reference to H. Crouzel, *Origen*, p. 36. Crouzel, p. 35, also draws attention to the medieval tradition that Origen's tomb was visible at Tyre, but this tradition does not help to show where Origen was buried in the third century.) R. M. Grant, "Eusebius and His Lives of Origen," *Forma Futuri: studi in onore del Cardinale Michele Pellegrino* (Turin, 1975), pp. 647–649, accepts the tradition of Origen's death at Tyre and conjectures that Eusebius saw Origen's tomb when he visited Tyre ca. 315 for the dedication of a basilica there. P. Nautin, *Origène* (Paris, 1977), pp. 213–214, is cautious about accepting Epiphanius' evidence (he rejects Jerome's as dependent upon Epiphanius) but still suggests that Origen may have resided at Tyre, rather than Caesarea, after his return from Nicomedia in ca. 249 because (Nautin thinks) his relationship with Theoctistus of Caesarea had been strained by Heraclas of Alexandria's objections to Origen's theology. J. A. McGuckin, "Caesarea Maritima," *Origeniana Quinta*, p. 19, emphasizes the possibility that Origen ended his life at Caesarea.

(*HE* VII.14: ὁ καὶ ἡμῶς). Theotecnus' accession is accordingly dated to sometime after 260. Eusebius also relates that Theotecnus had been a member of Origen's school (διατριβή), presumably at Caesarea. Because of this association with Origen, it is possible that Origen's library now came, if it was not already, under direct episcopal authority.<sup>35</sup>

At some point in the 260's, probably between 264 and 268, Anatolius, an Aristotelian scholar from Alexandria, arrived at Caesarea (*HE* VII.32.6–21). Intending this man to be his successor, Theotecnus ordained him bishop, but Anatolius was unable to fill the see of Caesarea because he was compelled by the people of Laodicea<sup>36</sup> to become their bishop in approximately 268, when Anatolius was on his way to Antioch to help in the deliberations on Paul of Samosata (*HE* VII.32.21). Anatolius probably left behind copies of works by his own pen that Eusebius later found in the library of Caesarea, while Theotecnus can be credited with depositing in the library a collection of materials regarding Paul of Samosata.

## II

Theotecnus was succeeded some time later by Agapius (*HE* VII.32.24), whose episcopate witnessed a renewal of scholarly activity at the library under the presbyter Pamphilus. This Pamphilus was of a noble family in the Phoenician city of Berytus, where he received his early education (*M.Pal.* 11.1f and 3). Probably in the early and mid-280's, he studied in Alexandria under the presbyter Pierius, who was himself known as "the Younger Origen."<sup>37</sup> From there Pamphilus

<sup>35</sup> H. Y. Gamble, *Books and Readers*, p. 159, supposes that Pamphilus was in direct control of the library, the bishop Agapius being only more remotely in charge, and that the library came under direct episcopal control when Eusebius became bishop. Gamble, however, does not consider what happened to the library between Origen's death and Pamphilus' arrival at Caesarea.

<sup>36</sup> This Laodicea was in Syria, according to *HE* VII.11.26. Presumably it was Laodicea ad Mare, around 80–100 km from Antioch.

<sup>37</sup> For Pamphilus' studying under Pierius, see Photius, *cod.* 119. Jerome, *De viris ill.* 76, and Photius, *cod.* 119, both call Pierius "the Younger Origen." The dating rests on the evidence of Eusebius, Jerome, and Photius: Eusebius places Pierius under the Alexandrian bishop Theonas (*HE* VII.32.30, ca. 283/4), while Jerome, *De viris ill.* 76, and Photius, *cod.* 119, who also name Theonas, specify that Carus and Diocletian were emperors, thus ca. 282–284. C. Kannengiesser, "Eusebius of Caesarea, Origenist," *Eusebius, Christianity, and Judaism* (Leiden, 1992), p. 438, note 7, prefers "the late 280s."

seems to have come to Caesarea, where his great learning in philosophy and theology enabled him to open a successful school (διατριβή) at Caesarea (*HE* VII.32.25). Pamphilus' school could boast no unbroken descent from Origen's school, because there was no continuous succession of masters at Caesarea between Origen and Pamphilus (no doubt Theotecnus had hoped that Anatolius would re-establish an advanced school in his see). Nevertheless, it is reasonable to suppose that Pamphilus provided an education similar to that provided by Origen. Pamphilus was accomplished in philosophy (*M.Pal.* 7.4 and 11.1e) and must have used the philosophical texts in the library at Caesarea with his students, at least two of whom Eusebius identifies as philosophers.<sup>38</sup> Some additional philosophical works must have been acquired in Pamphilus' lifetime, such as those of Plotinus and Porphyry.

Like Origen, or, as Jerome more aptly puts it (*Ep.* 34.1), like Pistratus and Demetrius of Phalerum, Pamphilus sedulously acquired books for the library at Caesarea.<sup>39</sup> These were particularly the works of Christian authors, including Pierius and, perhaps, Dionysius of Alexandria, but especially those of Origen himself, many of whose books Pamphilus transcribed with his own hand (*HE* VI.32.3; Jerome, *De viris ill.* 75).<sup>40</sup> Pamphilus also sought out whichever of Origen's

<sup>38</sup> *M.Pal.* 5.2 (Aedesius); 11.18–19 (Porphyry).

<sup>39</sup> R. Blum, "Die Literaturverzeichnis," *AGB* (1983), cols. 86–86 and 216, however, takes Jerome's comparison too far when he explains that Pamphilus actually modelled his collecting of Christian Greek literature on Demetrius' attempt to collect all pagan Greek literature.

<sup>40</sup> *HE* VI.32.3: τῆς συνακθείσης αὐτῷ [Π.] τῶν τε Ὠριγένους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐκκλησιαστικῶν συγγραφέων βιβλιοθήκης ("of the library he [Pamphilus] collected of the works of Origen and of other ecclesiastical writers"). Jerome, *Ep.* 34.1: *Beatus Pamphilus martyr . . . cum Demetrium Phalerum et Pistratum in sacrae bibliothecae studio vellet aequare imaginesque ingeniorum, quae vera sunt et aeterna monumenta, toto orbe perquireret, tunc vel maxime Origenis libros impensius persecutus Caesariensi ecclesiae dedicavit. . . . [2] hic cum multa repperiret et inventorum nobis indicem dereliqueret, centesimi vicesimi sexti psalmi commentarium et phe litterae tractatum ex quo, quod non inscripsit, confessus est non repertum.* ("The blessed martyr Pamphilus . . . when he wished to equal Demetrius of Phalerum and Pistratus in his zeal for a sacred library and diligently searched throughout the world for copies of works that are true and eternal monuments, then, having in particular sought eagerly to obtain the books of Origen, dedicated them to the church at Caesarea. . . . When he found many works and left behind for us an index of these discoveries, he confessed that he had been unable to find the commentary on Psalm 126 and the homily on the letter phe, because he did not include them in it.") Jerome, *De viris ill.* 75: *Pamphilus presbyter . . . tanto bibliothecae divinae amore flagravat, ut maximam partem Origenis voluminum sua manu descripserit, quae usque hodie in Caesariensi bibliotheca habentur.* ("The presbyter Pamphilus burned with so great a love for the divine

works were unavailable at Caesarea, such as, perhaps, the first books of Origen's *Commentary on John*. He admitted, however, that he was unable to acquire a complete collection of Origen's works (Jerome, *Ep.* 34.2). Eventually, Pamphilus compiled a catalogue of all the works in the Caesarean library (*HE* VI.32.3). Such avid collecting of books, of course, could become expensive. Perhaps Pamphilus' noble origins imply a considerable amount of personal wealth; but perhaps, too, Pamphilus benefitted from the additional patronage of wealthy lay Christians at Caesarea.

Pamphilus' greatest achievement, like Origen's, was in the study of Scripture, the culmination of Origen's curriculum and probably also of his own. A number of extant biblical manuscripts contain subscriptions that attribute these manuscripts to Caesarean exemplars.<sup>41</sup> It is clear from the subscriptions that Pamphilus, with the assistance of Eusebius and others, engaged in a laborious effort to collate and correct biblical texts from Origen's *Tetrapla* and *Hexapla*. A subscription in the Syrohexaplar, for example, ends: "I, Eusebius, corrected [the manuscript], Pamphilus making the collation."<sup>42</sup> Even during the persecution, this work did not halt, as the following subscription in the Codex Sinaiticus attests: "Transcribed and corrected against the *Hexapla* of Origen that was corrected by him. Antoninus

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library that he copied out in his own hand the greatest part of Origen's works, which to this day are contained in the library at Caesarea.")

<sup>41</sup> Subscriptions to Old Testament manuscripts are printed and discussed by G. Mercati in *Nuove note di letteratura biblica e cristiana antica*, Studi e Testi 95 (Vatican City, 1941), pp. 7–48. A summary is given by R. Devreesse, *Introduction à l'étude des manuscrits grecs* (Paris, 1954), pp. 123–124.

<sup>42</sup> The subscription occurs at the end of 4 Kings in the Syrohexaplar (saec. VI–VII) (Mercati, p. 39): *Sumpta est haec quoque quarti [libri] Regnorum, ex qua e Graeco conversa est in Syriacum, et haec, quae in manibus est, ex libro Heptaplorum, h.e. septem columnarum bibliothecae Caesareae Palaestinae, ex quo etiam interpretationes [reliquae] sunt appositae. Et collatus est accurate cum exemplari septem columnarum, cui subscripta erant haec: Quartus [liber] regnorum secundum Septuaginta, isque accurate emendatus. Eusebius [ego] emendavi, Pamphilus collationem instituente.* (P. Nautin, *Origène*, pp. 324–325, explains that in this case the scribe misunderstood the *Hexapla* as a *Heptapla*.) See in addition the subscription to Cod. Marchalianus (saec. VI), p. 171 (Mercati, pp. 8–9): *Μετελήφθη ο ησαιας απο αντιγραφου του αββα απολινარიου του κοινοβιαρχου εν ω καθυπετακτο ταυτα. Μετελήφθη ο ησαιας εκ των κατα τας εκδοσεις εξαπλων αντεβληθη δε και προς ετερον εξαπλων εχον την παρασημειωσιν ταυτην διορθωνται ακριβως πασαι αι εκδοσεις αντεβληθησαν γαρ προς τετραπλουν ησαιαν επι δε και προς εξαπλου- . . .* As Cardinal Mercati observes, the Koinobiarch Apollinarius' exemplar *a* was copied from a Hexapla *x* and collated with another Hexapla *y*, which was collated with a Tetrapla version of Isaiah and another Hexapla *z*. The production of multiple versions of texts from the *Hexapla* and *Tetrapla* must go back to Pamphilus' time.



the Confessor collated it. I, Pamphilus, corrected the book in prison.”<sup>43</sup> As Pamphilus and his students copied Origen’s biblical texts, they often included Origen’s scholia. Thus, one Roman manuscript bears the subscription: “Transcribed from the editions of the *Hexapla* and corrected from the *Tetrapla* of Origen himself, which he had corrected in his own hand and to which he had added scholia. From which I, Eusebius, provided the scholia. Pamphilus and Eusebius corrected it.”<sup>44</sup> Apparently, too, Pamphilus supervised the editing of a new Septuagint text, which Jerome later said became the vulgate text between Antioch and Alexandria.<sup>45</sup>

Subscriptions also attest the good repute of Caesarea’s New Testament manuscripts, though it is uncertain whether Pamphilus attempted to establish a new critical text.<sup>46</sup> Eusebius himself furthered textual

<sup>43</sup> The subscription, in a later hand (saec. VI?), at the end of Esther in the Codex Sinaiticus reports (Mercati, p. 18): Μετελημφθη και διορθωθη προς τα εξαπλα ωριγενους υπ αυτου διορθωμενα. αντωνινος ομολογητης αντεβαλε. παμφιλος διορθωσα το τευχος εν τη φυλακη. . . .

<sup>44</sup> Cod. Marchalianus (saec. VI), p. 568 (Mercati, p. 9): Μετελημφθη απο των κατα τας εκδοσεις εξαπλων και διορθωθη απο των ωριγενους αυτου τετραπλων ατινα και αυτου χειρι διορθωτο και εσχολιογραφητο. οθεν ευσεβειος εγω τα σχολια παρεθηκα. παμφιλος και ευσεβειος διορθωσαντο. See also at the end of Proverbs in the Syrohexaplar (saec. VI–VII) (Mercati, pp. 43–44): Μετελήφθησαν και άντεβλήθησαν αί Παροιμίαι άπό άκριβους άντιγράφου, έν ό παρατέθησαν και έγράφησαν έν τοις μετωπίοις σχόλια χειρί Παμφίλου και Εύσεβίου, έν ό καθυπετέτακτο ταύτα· Μετελήφθησαν άφ’ ών εύρομεν Έξαπλών Έριγένους. και πάλιν· αύτοχειρί Πάμφιλος και Εύσέβιος διωρθώσαντο.

<sup>45</sup> Jerome, *Adv. Rufinum* II.27: *Alexandria et Aegyptus in Septuaginta suis Hesychium laudat auctorem; Constantinopolis usque Antiochiam Luciani martyris exemplaria probat; mediae inter has provinciae palaestinos codices legunt, quos ab Origene elaboratos Eusebius et Pamphilus vulgaverunt.* (“Alexandria and Egypt praise Hesychius as the author of their Septuagint; the area from Constantinople to Antioch approves the version of the martyr Lucian; and, between these, the provinces in the middle read the Palestinian codices worked out by Origen and spread abroad by Eusebius and Pamphilus.”)

<sup>46</sup> R. Devreesse, *Introduction*, p. 160, provides a translation of a subscription to a Syriac manuscript of Paul’s Epistles at Cambridge, Add. 1700, f. 216: “. . . avait été contrôlé sur le codex qui se trouvait dans la ville de Césarée en Palestine, parmi les livres de saint Pamphile, écrit de sa propre main.” See also Devreesse, p. 163, for a codex (H) of Paul’s Epistles, Coislinianus 202 (saec. VI–VII), f. 14: άντεβλήθη δέ ή βίβλος προς τό έν Καισαρία άντίγραφον της βιβλιοθήκης του άγιου Παμφίλου γεγραμμένον. And see Devreesse, p. 168 for Cod. Vat. Reg. 179 (saec. XI), f. 71 of Acts and the Catholic Epistles: άντεβλήθη . . . τό βιβλίον προς τά άκριβή άντίγραφα της έν Καισαρεία βιβλιοθήκης Εύσεβίου του Παμφίλου.

D. S. Wallace-Hadrill, *Eusebius of Caesarea* (London, 1960), p. 63, cautions against the assumption that Pamphilus and Eusebius made a critical edition of the New Testament similar to what Origen achieved with the Old Testament. For an introduction to the scholarly debate on the existence of a “Caesarean text” of the New Testament, see J. Verheyden, “Some Observations on the Gospel Text of Eusebius



study of the Gospels in his own work, the (Eusebian) *Evangelical Canons*, which arranged parallel passages of the Gospels in tables. These tables could be affixed to manuscripts of the Gospels, while references to the tables could then be placed in the margins of the text of the Gospels.<sup>47</sup> Eusebius' *Evangelical Canons* is undated, but one scholar has suggested that, because the work ignores the longer ending of the Gospel according to Mark, it is one of Eusebius' earlier ones, and it is tempting to think of it as a product of Eusebius' collaboration with Pamphilus.<sup>48</sup> Later, when Constantine wished to supply his new capital with Bibles, he turned to Eusebius and the Caesarean church for fifty parchment copies of the Scriptures (*VC* IV.36–37).<sup>49</sup> Constantine evidently expected that Eusebius had in Caesarea not only accurate copies of the Scriptures but also the means by which to produce fine editions. Whether Constantine's request implies the existence of a scriptorium at Caesarea is unclear, but Pamphilus' endeavors to organize Origen's works and to establish accurate copies of the Scriptures were no doubt the source of the esteem that eventually reached the emperor.<sup>50</sup> Indeed, Pamphilus

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of Caesarea Illustrated from His Commentary on Isaiah," *Philohistôr: Miscellanea in Honorem Caroli Laga Septuagenarii*, A. Schoors and P. van Deun, edd., *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 60 (Leuven, 1994), pp. 35–48; also R. L. Mullen, *The New Testament Text of Cyril of Jerusalem*, Society of Biblical Literature: the New Testament in the Greek Fathers, Texts and Analyses 7 (Atlanta, 1997), pp. 29–59 (on this last page the conclusion that there is "scant evidence for a distinct and independent text-type centered" in Palestine).

<sup>47</sup> B. M. Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration*, 3rd edition (Oxford, 1992), pp. 24–25.

<sup>48</sup> T. D. Barnes, *CE*, p. 122, thinks that the *Gospel Canons* "may belong to Eusebius' youth, for the canons boldly omitted the spurious last twelve verses of Mark; later in life Eusebius was more disposed to accept the idea that nothing transmitted in the Gospels should be totally rejected."

<sup>49</sup> T. C. Skeat, "The Codex Sinaiticus, the Codex Vaticanus, and Constantine," *JTS* 50 (1999), pp. 583–625, has recently, and persuasively, argued that both Sinaiticus and Vaticanus are examples of Bibles prepared at Caesarea for Constantine (though Sinaiticus was not sent). For references to different explanations of what these copies of the Scriptures could be, see G. A. Robbins, "Fifty Copies of the Sacred Writings' (*VC* 4.36): Entire Bibles or Gospel Books?" *Studia Patristica* 19 (1987), pp. 91–98, and C. Wendel, "Der Bibel-Auftrag Kaiser Konstantins," *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 56 (1939), pp. 165–175.

<sup>50</sup> Some scholars have advanced the idea of a scriptorium at Caesarea: see G. Cavallo, "Scuola, scriptorium, biblioteca a Cesarea," *Le biblioteche*, pp. 67–70; and, briefly, C. Rapp, "Libri e lettori cristiani nell' Oriente greco del IV secolo," *Bisanzio fuori di Bisanzio*, G. Cavallo, ed., M. Maniaci, trans. (Palermo, 1991), pp. 21–22; H. Y. Gamble, *Books and Readers*, p. 158. But, K. Haines-Eitzen, *Guardians of Letters: Literacy, Power, and the Transmitters of Early Christian Literature* (Oxford, 2000),

must have supervised an operation that was significant enough for him to be able to offer copies of the Scriptures, not simply as a loan but as a possession, to anyone interested in reading them. As Eusebius himself wrote about his teacher:

Who of those devoted to learning was not a friend of Pamphilus? If he saw that anyone stood in need of the necessities of life, he liberally furnished what he could. The Holy Scriptures also he used to give most readily, not only for reading but also for keeping, not only to men but also to women who he had seen were given to reading. For this reason, he used to prepare many codices beforehand to give to those who wanted them, whenever need arose.<sup>51</sup>

### III

Eusebius' birth is ordinarily dated to ca. 260–264. Eusebius speaks of Theotecnus (*HE* VII.14), who became bishop of Caesarea in ca. 260, Dionysius of Alexandria (*HE* III.28.3), who lived until ca. 264, and Paul of Samosata (*HE* V.28.1), who was deposed from the see of Antioch in ca. 268–70, as men who were active in his time. The place of Eusebius' birth and early life, however, is unknown, although it is often presumed to be Caesarea. Nor is anything known of Eusebius' early education. It may be assumed that Eusebius benefitted from the educational program common in his day: he learned his letters; studied some literature, including especially Homer; and probably eventually came under the tutelage of a rhetor.<sup>52</sup> Perhaps it was

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pp. 89–91, cautions against the assumption that a scriptorium was necessary for such an enterprise as the production of fifty copies of the Scriptures. T. C. Skeat, "Codex Sinaiticus," *JTS* (1999), p. 607, even though he uses the term "scriptorium," envisions the opposite situation, that Eusebius had a difficult time recruiting enough skilled calligraphers to fulfill Constantine's order.

<sup>51</sup> Jerome, *Adv. Rufinum* I.9 quotes this information from Eusebius' biography of Pamphilus: *Quis studiosorum amicus non fuit Pamphili? Si quos videbat ad victum necessariis indigere, praebebat large quae poterat. Scripturas quoque sanctas non ad legendum tantum, sed et ad habendum tribuebat promptissime, nec solum viris, sed et feminis quas vidisset lectioni deditas. Unde et multos codices praeparabat, ut, cum necessitas poposcisset, volentibus largiretur.*

<sup>52</sup> On education in antiquity, see H. I. Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, G. Lamb, trans. (New York, 1956); M. L. Clarke, *Higher Education in the Ancient World* (London, 1971); S. F. Bonner, *Education in Ancient Rome: from the Elder Cato to the Younger Pliny* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1977); A. D. Booth, "Elementary and Secondary Education in the Roman Empire," *Florilegium* 1 (1979), pp. 1–14; R. A. Kaster, *Guardians of Language: the Grammarian and Society in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, 1988); W. Liebeschuetz, "Hochschule," *RAC* XV (1991), cols. 858–911; R. Cribiore, *Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt*, ASP 36 (Atlanta, 1996);

in these early stages that Eusebius learned Latin. Although Eusebius does not boast a perfect fluency in this tongue, it is clear from his works that, when necessary, he could translate a Latin text into Greek.<sup>53</sup>

Eusebius could have completed his study of literature and rhetoric by the age of twenty,<sup>54</sup> around 280–284, just before Pamphilus' arrival at Caesarea.<sup>55</sup> At this point in his life, Eusebius would have been ready for the “post-graduate” studies of the sort that philosophers customarily provided to a small number of specially interested students.<sup>56</sup> So, from the late 280's and through the 290's, when his mind was mature and ready to profit from advanced instruction, Eusebius excelled as one of Pamphilus' students. Following his mas-

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T. Morgan, *Literate Education in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds* (Cambridge, 1998). Eusebius presumably remembered Aesop's *Fables* (cf. *PE* X.4.27 with 200 and 200b Halm) from his early schooldays; on such memorization, see Quintilian, *Inst. Or.* I.9.2.

<sup>53</sup> Eusebius claims to have translated a rescript of Hadrian from Latin into Greek at *HE* IV.8.8, and he may be implying as much about Galerius' edict of toleration at *HE* VIII.17.11 (on this latter passage, see E. A. Fisher, “Greek Translations of Latin Literature in the Fourth Century A.D.,” *JCS* 27 [1982], pp. 200–203). Accordingly, Eusebius probably ought to have been included in the prosopographical catalogue of Greeks who knew Latin in B. Rochette, *Le Latin dans le monde grec*, Collection Latomus 233 (Brussels, 1997). While G. Bardy, *La Question des langues dans l'église ancienne* (Paris, 1948), p. 126 (and cf. pp. 129–130), is correct to note that in the *HE* and *VC* Eusebius sometimes had official Greek translations available to him (and Eusebius' use of a Greek translation of Tertullian's *Apologeticum* certainly indicates that Eusebius preferred his native tongue), it is quite possible that Eusebius himself translated some of the letters whose originals would have been in Latin. Constantine's letter to the Persian king Sapor (*VC* IV.9–13) may, for example, have been one of the letters Eusebius translated (on which see *infra*, Chapter VIII.B).

<sup>54</sup> S. F. Bonner, *Education in Ancient Rome*, pp. 136–137. Libanius, for example, though he actually turned from the rhetorician back to the grammarian, seems to have completed his formal education between the ages of twenty and twenty-two: see A. D. Booth, “A quel âge Libanius est-il entré à l'école du rhéteur?” *Byzantion* 53 (1983), pp. 157–163.

<sup>55</sup> R. Blum, “Literaturverzeichnis,” *AGB* (1983), col. 214, insists that Pamphilus could have studied under Pierius before the episcopate of Theonas (if Pierius only supervised the catechetical school before he accepted ordination to the priesthood under Theonas). He accordingly pushes back Pamphilus' arrival at Caesarea to ca. 270 and Eusebius' introduction to Pamphilus to ca. 280. Although there is no evidence for this dating, it may be worthwhile to note that, if Gregory Thaumaturgus can be considered a parallel in any way, he began to study with Origen before the age of twenty.

<sup>56</sup> J. N. D. Kelly, *Jerome* (London, 1975), p. 17, note 38, cites a story from Apuleius' *Florida* 20, in which Apuleius compares the four cups available at a banquet (for thirst, gaiety, pleasure, and madness) with the three ordinarily available in education (elementary education, grammar, and rhetoric); Apuleius himself drank from additional cups (poetry, geometry, music, philosophy) at Athens.

ter, Eusebius, as was noted above, assisted in the correction of biblical manuscripts, and he may have also embarked upon independent biblical research of a kind that produced his *Evangelical Canons*. If the schooling that Pamphilus offered was like that which Origen provided before him, then Eusebius was encouraged to appreciate the thought of Origen as well as to read the philosophical and historical works that he would use in his later works.

So devoted to his master was Eusebius that he not only composed Pamphilus' biography after the latter's martyrdom in 310, but he also acquired the cognomen *Pamphili* (Παμφίλου). Although only later authors (Jerome, Socrates, Sozomen, Syncellus, Photius) attest the existence of this surname, it is likely enough that Eusebius himself adopted the name *Pamphili*.<sup>57</sup> The words Εὐσέβιος ὁ Παμφίλου ought most naturally to be translated "Eusebius, the son of Pamphilus," though the relationship between Eusebius and Pamphilus was apparently not that of father and son: at *HE* VII.32.25 Eusebius implies that he first became acquainted with Pamphilus during the episcopacy of Agapius.<sup>58</sup> The notion that Eusebius' name may be translated as "Eusebius, the slave of Pamphilus," can be traced back to Photius, who seems to have made this charge as a slander against Eusebius, whose orthodoxy was somewhat suspect.<sup>59</sup> The idea that Eusebius was Pamphilus' slave probably ought to be rejected.<sup>60</sup> When,

<sup>57</sup> Jerome, *De viris ill.* 81, and *Onomasticon* (a translation of Eusebius' work), praef., indicates that Eusebius took on Pamphilus' name as a surname. References to Eusebius' new full name occur at: Jerome, *Comm. in Isaiam*, praef. (*Eusebius Pamphili*); Socrates, *HE* I.23 (Εὐσέβιος ὁ Παμφίλου); Sozomen, *HE* I.1.9 (Εὐσέβιος ὁ ἐπικλην Παμφίλου); Syncellus, 73 (p. 41, 23 Mosshammer) (Εὐσέβιος ὁ Παμφίλου); Photius, *Ep.* 73 (Εὐσέβιος ὁ τοῦ Παμφίλου) and cf. *cod.* 13. See also the subscription to *Cod. Vat. Reg.* 179, f. 71 (saec. XI): ἀντεβλήθη . . . τὸ βιβλίον πρὸς τὰ ἀκριβῆ ἀντίγραφα τῆς ἐν Καισαρείᾳ βιβλιοθήκης Εὐσεβίου τοῦ Παμφίλου, as cited by R. Devreesse, *Introduction*, p. 168.

<sup>58</sup> The testimony of Jerome noted above also demonstrates this fact, since Jerome reports that Eusebius adopted Pamphilus' name, an action that suggests that the name was not naturally his. At *De viris ill.* 75 Jerome calls Pamphilus the *necessarius* of Eusebius. But *necessarius* could indicate "friend" as well as "relative."

<sup>59</sup> Photius, *Ep.* 73. In his reference to Eusebius' name, Photius adds, εἴτε δούλος εἴτε συνήθης, "either a slave or a friend." Further criticism of Eusebius' orthodoxy occurs in Photius' *Bibliotheca*, *codd.* 13 and 127.

<sup>60</sup> J. B. Lightfoot, "Eusebius (23) of Caesarea," *DCB* II (1880), p. 310, pronounces this judgment: "It was either a blundering literalism or an ignoble sarcasm, which led Photius (*Epist.* 73, Baletta) to suggest the explanation that he was *the slave* of Pamphilus." E. H. Gifford approves this opinion in the introduction to his edition of the *PE* (Oxford, 1903), p. viii, where he treats the difficulties of interpreting Eusebius' surname. But, the rejection of this idea bears repeating, since modern

for example, at M. Pal. 11.1 Eusebius calls Pamphilus his δεσπότης, he cannot mean that Pamphilus is literally his master, for he addresses him thus out of respect for Pamphilus' holiness and learning, while, by contrast, one of Pamphilus' real slaves, a man by the name of Porphyry, is mentioned several lines further down in the passage.<sup>61</sup>

Probably just as Eusebius called Pamphilus his master, so he also called himself Pamphilus' son. That is, Eusebius styled himself "son" as a respectful sign of his intellectual and spiritual debt to his teacher, Pamphilus.<sup>62</sup> The idea that a teacher fulfilled a paternal role was prevalent in the imperial period, and Origen himself addressed Gregory Thaumaturgus as "son" and spoke of his "fatherly love" for his pupil (*Ep. ad Greg.* 4), who claimed that his own soul was bound to Origen's as Jonathan's was to David's (1 Sam. 18:1; Pan. 6).<sup>63</sup> Eusebius' cognomen indicates that the relationship between Eusebius and Pamphilus was the same as had existed between student and master nearly two generations earlier at Caesarea.

On the other hand, Gifford suggests that, notwithstanding Eusebius' devotion to his teacher, Eusebius acquired his surname by legal adoption.<sup>64</sup> The virtue Gifford finds in the possibility that Pamphilus legally adopted Eusebius is that Eusebius would have become Pamphilus'

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scholars sometimes still hold to it, as, for example, A. Dihle, *Greek and Latin Literature of the Roman Empire, from Augustus to Justinian*, M. Malzahn, trans. (London, 1994), p. 422.

<sup>61</sup> Eusebius, *M. Pal.* 11.1: . . . ὁ ἐμὸς δεσπότης (οὐ γὰρ ἐτέρως προσεῖπεν ἔστι μοι θέμις τὸν θεσπέσιον καὶ μακάριον ὡς ἀληθῶς Πάμφιλον). παιδείας γὰρ οὗτος τῆς παρ' Ἑλλήσι θαναταζομένης οὐ μετρίως ἤπτο. . . . καὶ ὁ Πορφύριος, τὸ μὲν δοκεῖν τοῦ Παμφίλου γεγονὸς οἰκέτης, διαθέσει γε μὴν ἀδελφοῦ καὶ μᾶλλον γνησίου παιδὸς διεννηχοῶς οὐδέν. . . . ("... my master [for it is not right otherwise to speak of the divine and truly blessed Pamphilus]. For he embraced in no common measure the education prized among Greeks. . . . And Porphyry, being in appearance the house-slave of Pamphilus, but in disposition differing not at all from a brother or even a true son. . . .")

<sup>62</sup> Similarly, A. Harnack, *Geschichte der altchr. Lit.* Second edition (Leipzig, 1958) II.2.103, note 4; E. Schwartz, "Eusebios," *RE* (1907), col. 1371.

<sup>63</sup> On the intimate relationship between teacher and student, see R. A. Kaster, *Guardians*, pp. 66–69. Yet, I must admit that I have not found any other example of a disciple who has adopted his teacher's name. The comparison between the relationship of Gregory and Origen and that of Eusebius and Pamphilus is drawn by H. Lapin, "Jewish and Christian Academies," *Caesarea Maritima: a Retrospective* (Leiden, 1996), p. 504. At the end of his letter, Origen tells Gregory (para. 4): ταῦτα ἀπὸ τῆς πρὸς σε ἐμοῦ πατρικῆς ἀγάπης τετόλμηται ("I have undertaken this out of my fatherly love for you").

<sup>64</sup> E. H. Gifford, *PE* (Oxford, 1903), p. xi. Gifford's solution is followed by T. D. Barnes, *CE*, p. 94.

legal heir and thus presumably his heir to the library. But it is far from certain that Pamphilus privately owned the Caesarean library. Rather, it was proposed above that the library had already come under the bishop's control before Pamphilus came to Caesarea. If Origen's library was his personal property and not that of the Church, then Origen may have bequeathed it to his bishop (Theoctistus) or to a student (someone like Theotecnus, who soon became bishop of Caesarea). Once the library came under episcopal control, it was presumably transmitted thereafter as Church property. At least after Gallienus ordered some form of official toleration of Christianity in 260 (shortly before the beginning of Theotecnus' episcopate), the Church will have had some legal claims to her possessions, as is later apparent in the Church's appeal to the emperor Aurelian against Paul of Samosata in ca. 270.<sup>65</sup>

The Great Persecution disrupted the school of Caesarea: Pamphilus was arrested (November 307) and executed (16 February 310), but Eusebius remained unharmed and was, in fact, able to complete the *Defense of Origen*, five books of which Pamphilus composed in prison. Although Diocletian ordered the destruction of churches as well as of copies of the Scriptures (*HE* VIII.2.4; *M.Pal.* [Short] praef. 1 and 2.1), the library survived the persecution. Whether it was damaged at all is unknown. The copies of the Scriptures that were presumably confiscated and burned could have been taken from a church or been in the possession of one of the clergy, so perhaps some of the library's no doubt numerous copies of Scripture were burned. At Circa in North Africa in 303 the authorities sought copies of the Scriptures from the bishop at the church (*ad domum, in qua christiani conveniebant*), which included a room called a library, but other copies were found in the private residences of the lectors.<sup>66</sup> But such a

<sup>65</sup> For Gallienus' toleration, see *HE* VII.13. Cf. T. D. Barnes, "Constantine and Christianity: Ancient Evidence and Modern Interpretations," *ZAC* 2 (2) (1998), pp. 277–280. The appeal to Aurelian is reported by Eusebius at *HE* VII.30.19. On this dispute, see F. Millar, "Paul of Samosata, Zenobia and Aurelian: the Church, Local Culture and Political Allegiance in Third-Century Syria," *JRS* 61 (1971), pp. 1–17; Idem, *The Emperor in the Roman World (31 BC–AD 337)* (Ithaca, NY, 1977), pp. 572–573.

<sup>66</sup> For events at Circa, see *Gesta apud Zenophilum* 18a–19a, printed in the works of Optatus of Milevis, CSEL 26 (Vienna, 1893), pp. 186–188. A. H. M. Jones, *Constantine and the Conversion of Europe* (Toronto, 1978), p. 55, conjectures that the martyr Procopius was arrested at Caesarea (*M. Pal.* 1.1) because, as a lector, he was presumed to have had copies of the Scriptures. (Procopius could, however,

scholarly edition as Origen's *Hexapla* clearly survived this persecution (and earlier ones), since Eusebius used it, as did Jerome even later.

After the renewal of persecution by Maximin Daia in late 311, Eusebius seems to have left Caesarea to visit Phoenicia, Egypt, and perhaps other places, but he must have returned after Maximin Daia's death and the consequent end of persecution in 313. By the year 315, at least, Eusebius had been elevated from the office of presbyter to that of bishop of Caesarea, for as bishop he delivered a speech in this year to commemorate the rebuilding of the church at Tyre.<sup>67</sup> Eusebius' predecessor in the episcopate was probably Agapius, although an Agricolaus attended a council at Ancyra in 314, and the see of this bishop is variously reported as Caesarea in Palestine and Caesarea in Cappadocia.<sup>68</sup> Eusebius remained bishop of Caesarea until his death on 30 May in the year 339.

Through at least five decades of scholarly work, first under Pamphilus and then independently, Eusebius could rely on the rich resources of the now rather old library at Caesarea. The library's collection, however, continued to expand in this period. Pamphilus, of course, sought out many writings by Christian authors, especially Origen, and Eusebius helped in this effort. It was probably at this time that excerpts of Origen's Scriptural commentaries and scholia were compiled that would later serve as material for *catenae*, and, even after Pamphilus' death, Eusebius gathered together Origen's letters.<sup>69</sup> Eusebius himself obtained the *Acts of Thaddeus*, collected accounts of martyrdoms (Polycarp's and others) for his *Collection of Ancient Martyrdoms*, and gathered other material related to the Great Persecution, including

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simply have been arrested as a member of the clergy, in accordance with the second edict of the persecution: see G. E. M. de Ste. Croix, "Aspects of the 'Great' Persecution," *HTR* 47 [1954], p. 81.)

<sup>67</sup> *HE* X.4. In his letter to the Caesarean church after the Council of Nicaea (reproduced by Socrates, *HE* I.8, and Theodoret, *HE* I.12, and in Athanasius' writings [Opitz, *Urkunde* 22]), Eusebius states that he was at one time a presbyter, but it is uncertain how much before his elevation to the episcopate Eusebius was ordained presbyter.

<sup>68</sup> S. Salaville, *DHGE* 1 (1912), 1027–1028.

<sup>69</sup> On Eusebius' possible role in the formation of what would become the *catenae*, see R. Cadiou, "La bibliothèque de Césarée et la formation des chaînes," *RSR* 16 (1936), p. 478; G. Dorival, "Origène dans les chaînes sur les Psaumes: deux séries inédites de fragments," *Origeniana*, H. Crouzel et al., edd., *Quaderni di "Vetera Christianorum"* 12 (Bari, 1975), pp. 199–213. The *catenae* themselves were produced in the fifth century and later; see, for example, the edition of M. Harl (with G. Dorival), *La Chaîne palestinienne sur le Psaume 118*, SC 189–190 (Paris, 1972). On Origen's letters, see *HE* VI.36.3.



a letter by Phileas of Thmuis and, perhaps, a letter by Lucian of Antioch. Other materials from the time of persecution, especially imperial edicts and prefectural letters, Eusebius may well have acquired for inclusion in his *HE* but without incorporating them into the library. In addition, works by contemporary Christians such as Methodius and, as was noted above, the works of Porphyry and Plotinus must have been brought to the library in the days of Pamphilus and Eusebius.

#### IV

Eusebius' library was founded upon what Origen left behind in the middle of the third century, but, just as Pamphilus and Eusebius acquired new books for the library, so Eusebius' own successors augmented the Caesarean collection. Yet, after Eusebius' episcopate little is known about the library at Caesarea. According to Jerome, who took up residence at Bethlehem in 386 and was able to make use of the library at Caesarea, Eusebius' two immediate successors in the episcopate, Acacius and Euzoius, labored to restore the library *in membranis*.<sup>70</sup> The works on papyrus were thus transferred to parchment codices. Similar information comes from the subscription to an eleventh century manuscript, Cod. Vind. theol. gr. 29: Εὐζοῖος ἐπίσκοπος ἐν σωματίοις ἀνενεώσατο, "Euzoius the bishop renewed [the works] in codices." The exact nature of the library's renewal may at first seem unclear: one scholar envisions the replacement of papyrus rolls with parchment codices, another, thinking the codex to have already supplanted the roll, envisions the replacement of papyrus codices with parchment codices.<sup>71</sup> Because Eusebius' library likely

<sup>70</sup> Jerome, *De viris ill.* 113: *Euzoius apud Thespesium rhetorem cum Gregorio, Nazianzeno episcopo, adulescens Caesareae eruditus est et eiusdem urbis postea episcopus, plurimo labore corruptam iam bibliothecam Origenis et Pamphili in membranis instaurare conatus est.* ("Euzoius was educated as a young man at Caesarea along with Gregory, the bishop of Nazianzus, under the rhetor Thespesius and later became bishop of the same city; with very great toil he attempted to restore on parchment the library of Origen and Pamphilus that had been damaged.") The text of *Ep.* 34.1 seems to have been interpolated from the *De viris ill.*: ... *sacrae bibliothecae* ... [*quam ex parte corruptam Acacius, dehinc Euzoius, eiusdem ecclesiae sacerdotes, in membranis instaurare conati sunt*].

<sup>71</sup> J. N. D. Kelly, *Jerome*, p. 135: Euzoius "had attempted to restore [the library] by replacing the badly worn papyrus rolls with parchment codices." Kelly's predecessors include K. Dziatzko, "Bibliotheken," *RE* (1897), col. 420; J. de Ghellinck, *Patristique et moyen âge*, p. 262; C. Wendel, *Handbuch der Bibl.*, III.132. Cf. also R. Blum, "Die



contained both papyrus rolls and papyrus codices, the renewal will have entailed the replacement of both kinds of books with parchment codices.

From the second century onward the codex had become a favorite among Christians for manuscripts of their Scriptures, at least in part because of the ease of reference the codex furnished, and in the fourth century the codex gradually began to replace the roll as the predominant form of all books.<sup>72</sup> Eusebius evidently lived at the end of the era of the book-roll and his library contained secular as well as Christian works, so it will be reasonable to expect that his library was composed principally of papyrus rolls.<sup>73</sup> But the library no doubt also had codices, particularly, but not only, in the case of biblical manuscripts. Thus, toward the end of Eusebius' life, probably shortly after 330, when Constantine requested fifty parchment copies of the Scriptures for his new capital, it is almost certain that Eusebius prepared codices: the Codex Sinaiticus and Codex Vaticanus may well be surviving examples.<sup>74</sup> Already decades before this celebrated event,

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Literaturverzeichnis," *AGB* (1983), cols. 217–218. On the other side is D. T. Runia, "Caesarea Maritima," *Caesarea Maritima: a Retrospective*, p. 481, note 14: "The Greek *σωμάτια* is less clear than the Latin *membrana*, for it can refer also to papyrus codices (or even to collections of rolls). The antithesis would then be codices versus rolls. But it may be assumed that this step had long been taken (compare the two third-century Philonic codices found in Coptos and Oxyrhynchus in Egypt), so that the contrast implied in the 'cross' is between (damaged) papyrus codices and (long-lasting) parchment codices." Runia provides good pictures of Euzoius' subscription, which takes the shape of a cross, on pp. 480–481. See also the entry on Philo of Alexandria in Chapter VI.

<sup>72</sup> On the transition from the roll to the codex, see C. H. Roberts and T. C. Skeat, *The Birth of the Codex* (London, 1983) with H. Y. Gamble, *Books and Readers*, pp. 42–81. According to Roberts and Skeat, p. 37, the surviving evidence demonstrates that in the first and second centuries about 98% of works were in rolls, while by the time of the late third and early fourth century the distribution was 52% rolls, 48% codices, and in the fourth century the distribution was 26.5% rolls, 73.5% codices. The precise reasons why Christians favored the codex and why the codex supplanted the roll are still debated.

<sup>73</sup> Even relatively recent Christian works could have been on rolls: J. Scherer, *Extraits des livres I et II du Contre Celse d'Origène: le papyrus 88747 du Musée du Caire* (Cairo, 1956), pp. 7–8, conjectures that the Toura papyri and Vaticanus cod. gr. 386 both were copied from codices that, according to subscriptions in both, derived from copies made from the original *Contra Celsum*, which Scherer thinks was written on rolls.

<sup>74</sup> Constantine requests "codices in parchment," *σωμάτια ἐν διφθέραις* (*VC* IV.36.1). Eusebius reports that he sent them "in lavishly decorated codices," *ἐν πολυτελῶς ἡσκημένοις τεύχεσι* (*VC* IV.37.1). Even though Eusebius lived at a time of transition between the roll and codex and so the definitions of *σωμάτιον* and *τεύχος* were flexible, the understanding of these words as "codex" in the *VC* seems to be

as we have seen, if Jerome's translation of a passage of Eusebius' *Vita Pamphili* is reliable, Pamphilus used to prepare codices of Scripture (probably of papyrus) for presentation to interested readers.<sup>75</sup> Works other than Scripture, too, however, could have been in the form of codices, as is evident from the example of two contemporary papyrus codices of Philo's works, the Coptos codex and the Oxyrhynchus codex, both from the late third century and probably both from Alexandria.<sup>76</sup>

When Acacius and Euzoius embarked upon their project of restoration, they presumably concentrated their efforts on the older books: by the middle of the fourth century the works brought to Caesarea by Origen, for example, would have been at least two centuries old, certainly enough time for the original papyrus (in rolls or codices) to suffer damage (cf. the section on Philo in Chapter VI).<sup>77</sup> After restoring the manuscripts in the Caesarean library, Acacius and Euzoius also added their own works to the Caesarean collection: according to later testimony, Acacius wrote a commentary on Ecclesiastes in seventeen books, six books of *Miscellaneous Questions*, a biography of Eusebius, and other works, while the names of Euzoius' works are not known.<sup>78</sup> To these books were also added the works

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generally accepted. On the definitions of these terms, see B. Atsalos, *La terminologie du livre-manuscrit à l'époque byzantine*, *Hellenica* 21 (Thessalonica, 1971), pp. 116–119 and 147. One immediately notices that Constantine uses the same word as that which appears in Cod. Vind. theol. gr. 29. For the argument that Sinaiticus and Vaticanus are examples of what Eusebius sent to Constantine, see T. C. Skeat, "Codex Sinaiticus," *JTS* (1999), pp. 583–625.

<sup>75</sup> See Jerome, *Adv. Rufinum* I.9: Pamphilus *multos codices* [sc. of Scripture] *praeparabat* for presentation to interested readers. Jerome also uses the word "codices" when he speaks of the Septuagint text Pamphilus and Eusebius made common in Palestine (*Adv. Rufinum* II.27).

<sup>76</sup> See D. T. Runia, *Philo in Early Christian Literature: a Survey*, *Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum* 3 (Assen, 1993), p. 23. The codices are numbers 695 (Coptos) and 696 in J. van Haelst, *Catalogue des papyrus littéraires juifs et chrétiens* (Paris, 1976).

<sup>77</sup> Two hundred years was, however, not an exceedingly long time for rolls of papyrus to remain in use. Galen, for example, used rolls 300 years old (18.2, p. 638 Kühn). See E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri: an Introduction* (Oxford, 1980), pp. 7–8. Acacius and Euzoius may have also simply wished to exchange old rolls for the increasingly standard codex.

<sup>78</sup> Jerome, *De viris ill.* 98 (Acacius' commentary on Ecclesiastes in seventeen volumes, his six volumes of miscellaneous questions, and various other works); Socrates, *HE* II.4, reports that Acacius wrote a biography of Eusebius; Jerome, *De viris ill.* 113 (Euzoius' various works). See J. Quasten, *Patrology* (Utrecht, 1950), III.345–346 and 348.

of another of Eusebius' successors, Gelasius of Caesarea, who extended Eusebius' *HE* to his own day and composed a work against the Anomoeans and, perhaps, a catechetical work.<sup>79</sup>

In the middle and late fourth century, the library at Caesarea was used by several famous scholars. St. Gregory Nazianzen, for example, studied as a youth at Caesarea with the rhetorician Thespesius, one of his fellow pupils being Euzoius.<sup>80</sup> It is sometimes suggested that both SS. Hilary of Poitiers and Eusebius of Vercelli made use of the library at Caesarea.<sup>81</sup> During the Arian Controversy Hilary was exiled to the East (ca. 356 to 361), but he benefitted from considerable freedom of movement, and it is possible, though far from certain, that he obtained a copy of Origen's commentary on the Psalms, which served as the basis for his own commentary, from the Caesarean library. Eusebius of Vercelli, likewise an exile from the West (ca. 355–362), was denied the same mobility as Hilary; he was held at Scythopolis in Palestine and then the Egyptian Thebaid. Eusebius of Vercelli translated Eusebius of Caesarea's commentary on the Psalms, his copy of which may have come from Caesarea.<sup>82</sup> More certain is the fact noted above, that when Jerome resided at Bethlehem between 386 and 420 he was able to travel to the library at Caesarea. Jerome, for example, used Origen's *Hexapla* there and thought himself as rich as Croesus when he discovered a copy of Origen's commentary on the minor prophets in Pamphilus' own hand. He also found such works as the *Gospel according to the Hebrews* and Pamphilus and Eusebius' *Defense of Origen*.<sup>83</sup> It was presumably

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<sup>79</sup> Jerome, *De viris ill.* 130, reports that Gelasius wrote "carefully and elegantly" but did not circulate his work (*accurati limatique sermonis fertur quaedam scribere, sed celare*). Photius, *cod.* 88, attributes to Gelasius a work against the Anomoeans, and at *cod.* 89 he attributes an ecclesiastical history to Gelasius. The *Doctrina Patrum* refers to an explanation of the faith by Gelasius. See J. Quasten, *Patrology* (Utrecht, 1950), III.347–348. Because Gelasius was the nephew of St. Cyril of Jerusalem, one suspects that Cyril's works found their way into the library at Caesarea, too.

<sup>80</sup> Jerome, *De viris ill.* 113 (quoted above). See also R. A. Kaster, *Guardians*, p. 435. The city must have become quite well known for its sophists at this time, for Libanius complains at *Or.* 31.42 of its strong competition for students.

<sup>81</sup> R. Cadiou, "La bibliothèque de Césarée et la formation des chaînes," *Revue des sciences religieuses* 16 (1936), pp. 477–478, followed by C. Wendel in *Handbuch der Bibliothekswissenschaft* (Leipzig, 1940), III.132–133, and (apparently) J. A. McGuckin, "Caesarea Maritima," *Origeniana Quinta*, p. 21. H. Y. Gamble, *Books and Readers*, p. 160, is more cautious about Cadiou's suggestion.

<sup>82</sup> See Jerome, *De viris ill.* 100, for Hilary's commentary and *De viris ill.* 96 for Eusebius of Vercelli's translation of Eusebius of Caesarea's commentary.

<sup>83</sup> (a) *Hexapla*. Jerome, *Comm. in Titum*, 3.9: *Unde et nobis curae fuit omnes veteris legis*

also at Caesarea that Jerome found more of Eusebius' writings, as well as those of his successors, Acacius, Euzoius, and Gelasius.<sup>84</sup>

Caesarea's population grew, and the city remained prosperous throughout the fifth and sixth centuries.<sup>85</sup> The library at Caesarea must have retained a prominent place in the city's scholarly activity, since the business of copying manuscripts continued at the library.<sup>86</sup>

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*libros, quos vir doctus Adamantius in Hexapla digesserat, de Caesariensi bibliotheca descriptos, ex ipsis authenticis emendare, in quibus et ipsa Hebraea propriis sunt characteribus verba descripta et Graecis litteris tramite expressa vicino.* ("Whence I took care to correct all the books of the Old Law, which the learned Adamantius had divided up in the *Hexapla* and which had been transcribed from the library at Caesarea, from the originals themselves, in which the Hebrew words themselves were both copied in their own characters and expressed in Greek letters on the side next to them.") Idem, *Comm. in Psalmos*, 1.4: . . . *nam ἐξαπλοῦς Origenis in Caesariensi bibliotheca relegens. . .* ("For, going over Origen's *Hexapla* in the library at Caesarea again. . .") (b) *Commentary on the Minor Prophets*. Idem, *De viris ill.* 75: *Sed in duodecim prophetas XXV ἐξηγήσεων Origenis manu eius exarata repperi, quae tanto amplexor et seruo gaudio, ut Croesi opes habere me credam.* ("But I found in his [Pamphilus'] own hand twenty-five volumes of Origen's commentaries on the twelve prophets, which I cherish so much, preserve, and delight in that I believe I have the riches of Croesus.") (c) *Gospel according to the Hebrews*. Idem, *De viris ill.* 3: *Porro ipsum Hebraicum habetur usque hodie in Caesariensi bibliotheca quam Pamphilus martyr studiosissime confecit.* ("Moreover, the Hebrew version itself, which the martyr Pamphilus carefully brought together, is contained to this day in the library at Caesarea.") Idem, *Adv. Pelagianos*, 3.2: *In evangelio iuxta Hebraeos . . . quod et in Caesariensi habetur bibliotheca.* ("In the Gospel according to the Hebrews . . . which is contained in the library at Caesarea.") (d) *Defense of Origen*. Idem, *Adv. Rufinum*, 3.12: . . . *in Caesariensi bibliotheca Eusebii sex volumina repperi ἀπολογίας ὑπὲρ Ὁριγένους.* ("I found in Eusebius' library at Caesarea six volumes of the *Defense of Origen*.") F. Cavallera, *Saint Jérôme: sa vie et son oeuvre* (Louvain and Paris, 1922), I.2, note H (pp. 88–89), collects references to Jerome's use of the library at Caesarea.

<sup>84</sup> See P. Courcelle, *Late Latin Writers and Their Greek Sources*, H. E. Wedeck, trans. (Cambridge, MA, 1969), p. 117. Courcelle elsewhere notes that Jerome seems unaware of works like Dionysius of Alexandria's four books *Contra Sabellium* (p. 114). This work was, at least in Eusebius' day, in the library at Caesarea, and so perhaps one ought not to assume that Jerome had an intimate knowledge of the entire collection of the Caesarean library. Jerome did not necessarily even read all of Origen's works at Caesarea: see P. Nautin, *Lettres et écrivains chrétiens* (Paris, 1961), pp. 255–265, for the argument that Jerome did not utilize the collections of Origen's letters.

<sup>85</sup> According to K. Holum, et al., *King Herod's Dream*, pp. 165–174, the city walls were extended in the Byzantine period, and the remains of buildings and pottery also suggest an increased population (estimated at nearly 100,000 on p. 174) and thriving economy (see also pp. 187–195).

<sup>86</sup> See R. Devreesse, *Introduction*, pp. 162–164, on codex H, Coislin. 202, a manuscript of Paul's epistles that dates to the late fifth or sixth century. Devreesse, p. 122, also notes the existence of some canons purporting to be from a synod of the apostles at Antioch that are introduced by the inscription τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος Παμφίλου ἐκ τῆς ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῶν Ἀποστόλων συνόδου, τουτέστιν ἐκ τῶν συνοδικῶν αὐτῶν κανόνων μέρος τῶν εὐρεθέντων εἰς τὴν Ὁριγένους βιβλιοθήκην ("Of the holy martyr Pamphilus, from the synod of Apostles in Antioch, this part is from the same synodal canons found in the library of Origen."). F. X. Funk, *Didascalia*

It was at this time, for example, that the unfinished Codex Sinaiticus was corrected at Caesarea and then probably bound up.<sup>87</sup> Such famous men as Orion of Egyptian Thebes and Procopius of Gaza taught at Caesarea in the fifth century, and in the sixth Procopius of Caesarea studied there.<sup>88</sup> Yet, by the middle of the fifth century Caesarea had permanently lost its ecclesiastical primacy in Palestine. Already at the Council of Nicaea (325) the see of Jerusalem was acknowledged to possess a special honor, though Caesarea remained the provincial metropolis, and in 451, at the Council of Chalcedon, Jerusalem was elevated to the status of patriarchate.<sup>89</sup> Similarly, Caesarea's civil jurisdiction became gradually more restricted, for, while the city remained a provincial capital, its original province was separated into two provinces in the middle of the fourth century, then three provinces in the early fifth century. In the sixth century Caesarea suffered the effects of religious strife,<sup>90</sup> and in the seventh century the city endured several more serious calamities.

Caesarea was captured by an invading Sassanid Persian army in 614 and held until 628. The Persian conquest, however, seems to have inflicted little damage upon the city.<sup>91</sup> Somewhat more archae-

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*et constitutiones apostolorum* (Paderborn, 1905), II.144–148, prints the text of these canons, and on pp. xxxv–xxxvi he puts their date between 500 and 750, with composition in Syria or Palestine. Even if these canons were not put together in Caesarea itself, they attest the enduring reputation of the library at Caesarea.

<sup>87</sup> T. C. Skeat, "Codex Sinaiticus," *JTS* (1999), pp. 617–618.

<sup>88</sup> K. G. Holum, et al., *King Herod's Dream*, pp. 188–189; G. Downey, "The Christian Schools of Palestine: a Chapter in Literary History," *Harvard Library Bulletin* 12 (1958), pp. 301–302; 310; 314. On Orion, see R. A. Kaster, *Guardians*, pp. 322–325. To this list may be added John of Caesarea in the sixth century, if in fact John's city was Caesarea Maritima and not some other Caesarea: see Kaster, *Guardians*, pp. 298–299. Also for the sixth century, see Zacharias Scholasticus, *Vita Severi* 26 (*Patrologia Orientalis* II, 98).

<sup>89</sup> Canon VII of the Council of Nicaea (325) recognized the greater honor of the see of Jerusalem. For the development of Jerusalem's ecclesiastical prestige, see E. Honigsmann, "Juvenal of Jerusalem," *DOP* 5 (1950), 209–279; Z. Rubin, "The See of Caesarea in Conflict with Jerusalem from Nicaea (325) to Chalcedon (451)," *Caesarea Maritima: a Retrospective*, pp. 559–574.

<sup>90</sup> L. I. Levine, *Caesarea under Roman Rule*, pp. 135–137, emphasizes the religious conflict, especially the circumstances of Samaritans at Caesarea. See also K. G. Holum, "Caesarea and the Samaritans," *City, Town, and Countryside in the Early Byzantine Era*, R. Hohlfelder, ed., East European Monographs 120, Byzantine Series 1 (Boulder, CO, 1982), pp. 65–73. K. G. Holum, et al., *King Herod's Dream*, p. 199, note that churches were destroyed in a rebellion in 555.

<sup>91</sup> For an assessment of the archaeological and literary evidence for the Persian conquest, see K. G. Holum, et al., *King Herod's Dream*, pp. 202–203; K. G. Holum,

ological evidence exists to suggest that Caesarea was damaged by Arabs who, after a siege of six to seven years, captured the city in 640/1. Literary evidence, albeit late and from the Byzantine side, also suggests that there was destruction.<sup>92</sup> Just before and during the Arab conquest, many Greeks chose to withdraw from Palestine, and it is worth speculating that some wealthy citizens and churchmen of Caesarea took books from the library with them when they departed, perhaps even during the lengthy siege of the city.<sup>93</sup> As a result, it seems unlikely that the library at Caesarea survived the vicissitudes of the seventh century, for if it was not destroyed altogether in the various captures of Caesarea, its collection may have been gradually dispersed by both conquerors and the Caesarean elite who fled them. Caesarea, though briefly returned to Byzantine control ca. 685–695, was thereafter under Muslim control until the Crusaders arrived in 1101. With the arrival of Muslim rulers, Caesarea's population had shrunk and its economic and cultural importance began to wane.<sup>94</sup>

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"Archaeological Evidence for the Fall of Byzantine Caesarea," *BASOR* 286 (1992), pp. 73–85.

<sup>92</sup> For discussion of the literary (John of Nikiu, *Chron.* 118.10; Theophanes, *Chron.* 6133; Michael the Syrian, *Chron.* 4.422–423) and archaeological evidence regarding the Arab conquest, see K. G. Holum, et al., *King Herod's Dream*, pp. 203–206; K. G. Holum, "Archaeological Evidence," *BASOR* (1992), pp. 73–85. See also R. Schick, *The Christian Communities of Palestine from Byzantine to Islamic Rule: a Historical and Archaeological Study*, Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam 2 (Princeton, 1995), pp. 276–279.

<sup>93</sup> R. Schick, *Christian Communities*, pp. 81–82, notes how common it was for Byzantines to flee from the Arab conquerors. K. G. Holum, "The Survival of the Bouleutic Class at Caesarea in Late Antiquity," *Caesarea Maritima: a Retrospective*, pp. 626–627, thinks that the exodus of the elite from Caesarea began with the Persian conquest. Caesarea's long resistance to the Muslims presumes that the city received steady Byzantine support by sea: see F. M. Donner, *The Early Islamic Conquests* (Princeton, 1981), pp. 153–155.

<sup>94</sup> K. G. Holum, et al., *King Herod's Dream*, pp. 206–214. Caesarea was not unique in this condition, since the Islamic conquest reversed the prosperity of the general region of Syria-Palestine: see I. M. Lapidus, *A History of Islamic Societies* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 47–48. Nevertheless, in their introduction to *Caesarea Maritima: a Retrospective*, K. Holum and A. Raban note that "after about two centuries of decay and impoverishment, Muslim Quaisariyah emerged in the ninth century . . . [as a] revived Muslim town" (p. xxxii). For an assessment of how Greek culture continued in the region after the Arab conquest, see C. Mango, "La cultura greca in Palestina dopo la conquista araba," *Bisanzio fuori di Bisanzio*, G. Cavallo, ed., M. Maniacci, trans. (Palermo, 1991), pp. 37–47.

## V

There are two final problems: the location and the size of the library. The location of the episcopal archive that existed before Origen established his scholarly library at Caesarea is unknown, although it may have been part of the church or some Christian residence. Nor is it known where Origen's library was located. His activity at Caesarea, as was noted above, seems to have been conducted under episcopal authority, since he was a presbyter, but it is unclear whether his school (and library) operated (a) from his own private residence, or (b) from the residence of a patron,<sup>95</sup> just as his contemporary, the philosopher Plotinus, taught his students in the residence of his patroness, Gemina (*Vita Plotini* 9), or (c) from an ecclesiastical building designated for Origen's school.<sup>96</sup> It is possible that the categories listed above crossed: for example, Origen could have been given an ecclesiastical building where his library was stored and where he and his companions lived.

One suspects that the documents from the episcopal archive had at least by Eusebius' day been incorporated into the larger scholarly library established by Origen (though they may have formed a special collection within it). This combined collection was apparently not located within a church, however, since the first edict of Diocletian's persecution stipulated that churches be razed and copies of the Scriptures be burned (*HE* VIII.2.4), yet the library at Caesarea survived the persecution, while Caesarea's church was presumably destroyed. Of course, the location of the library may have changed a number of times over the decades. And if it ever was attached to the church, it may have been the church that was moved, for at *HE* VIII.1.5 Eusebius reports how in the period before the Great Persecution new, larger churches were built for the growing numbers of faithful.

It was thought at one time that archaeology had found evidence of the library's location. In an Israeli expedition in 1960, A. Negev

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<sup>95</sup> H. Crouzel, *Origen*, A. S. Worrall, trans. (San Francisco, 1989), p. 27, citing fragments of letters preserved by Cedrenus (PG 121: 485B-C) and Jerome (*Ep.* 43), concludes that Origen lived with his students and his patron, Ambrose.

<sup>96</sup> J. A. McGuckin, "Caesarea Maritima," *Origeniana Quinta*, p. 20, for example, concludes that, because Origen was invited to Caesarea to consolidate a school there, "it would seem logical to presume that it was sited from the start in an official church building rather than a private house of his own supplying."



discovered a complex of rooms dating to the Byzantine era.<sup>97</sup> Within this complex Negev found a statue of Jesus Criophoros and an inscription from Romans 13:3 ("If you wish to have no fear of authority, do good and you will have praise from it") in a mosaic on the floor. Negev at first described the complex as a "Byzantine monastic building,"<sup>98</sup> but he later explained that the architecture of the building precluded its being either a basilica or a church, and so, prompted by the discovery of the statue and inscription, he suggested that the building was the Caesarean library.<sup>99</sup> More recent archaeological work, however, shows that the building, seven rooms around a central court and including several other inscriptions in the mosaics on the floor, was a governmental tax office.<sup>100</sup> Perhaps future archaeological excavations will furnish more information about the library's location.

The comparative size of the library at Caesarea is difficult to judge. According to the results of the present study, the number of works (as opposed to volumes) in the library exceeded 400, and the existence of various philosophical, rhetorical, and biblical handbooks must be assumed. In the early seventh century, just before Caesarea fell to the Arabs, St. Isidore of Seville in his *Etymologiae* VI.6.1 put the number of *volumina*, which must imply rolls, at nearly 30,000. "Among us [sc. Christians] also," writes Isidore, "the martyr Pamphilus, whose *Life* Eusebius of Caesarea wrote, first attempted to equal Pisistratus in his zeal for a sacred library. For this man had in his library almost thirty thousand volumes."<sup>101</sup> Isidore clearly draws the first sentence of this chapter from Jerome's *Ep.* 34, but the number

<sup>97</sup> A. Negev, "Caesarea Maritima," *Christian News from Israel* 11 (4) (1960), pp. 17–22; see also his article, "The Palimpsest of Caesarea Maritima: Excavations and Reconstructions," *The Illustrated London News* 243 (Oct.-Dec. 1963), pp. 728–731; Idem, "Inscriptions hébraïques, grecques, et latines de Césarée Maritime," *Revue biblique* 78 (1971), pp. 247–263.

<sup>98</sup> A. Negev, "Caesarea Maritima," *Christian News from Israel* (1960), p. 22.

<sup>99</sup> A. Negev, "The Palimpsest," *The Illustrated London News* (1963), p. 731.

<sup>100</sup> K. G. Holum, et al., *King Herod's Dream*, pp. 169–171; M. Spiro, "Some Byzantine Mosaics from Caesarea," *Caesarea Papers*, R. L. Vann, ed., JRA Suppl. 5 (Ann Arbor, MI, 1992), p. 252. In these publications the complex is referred to as the "archives building." The building is designated the Imperial Revenue Office by C. M. Lehmann and K. G. Holum, *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Caesarea Maritima*, The Joint Expedition to Caesarea Maritima Excavation Reports 5 (Boston, 2000), pp. 96–106 (the inscription from Romans being no. 89).

<sup>101</sup> Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* VI.6.1: *Apud nos quoque Pamphilus martyr, cujus Vitam Eusebius Caesariensis conscripsit, Pisistratum in sacrae bibliothecae studio primus adaequare contendit. Hic enim in bibliotheca sua prope triginta voluminum millia habuit.*



in the second sentence does not appear in Jerome's letter. Isidore's source is unknown, but it could be ancient (or dependent on ancient information), since rolls had become obsolete centuries before.<sup>102</sup> But because so little is known about the source of this information and because the number may have been transmitted inaccurately by Isidore or a later scribe, the number must be treated with caution.<sup>103</sup> What is most striking is that any number of the volumes in the Caesarean library has been transmitted at all. Medieval scholars evidently regarded the size of the library at Caesarea as noteworthy.

What speculation can be made about the number of volumes in Eusebius' library? The task is made particularly difficult because Eusebius' library contained both rolls and codices. There were doubtlessly hundreds of biblical manuscripts: multiple copies of the Septuagint and Gospels, for example, and probably multiple copies of other translations of the Hebrew Scriptures and of New Testament writings. But apart from these manuscripts, which were likely in the form of codices, even if every other work were to comprise ten rolls of papyrus, the known contents of Eusebius' library would hardly reach 5,000 rolls. A further problem ought to be noted: individual works may have been contained in several volumes (rolls or, later, codices), while sometimes several works were combined into a single volume (roll or codex).

Comparison with the size of other libraries will, perhaps, put Isidore's number into perspective. First to be considered are the libraries whose estimated contents would have been in rolls. The most celebrated library of the ancient world, that at Alexandria, is estimated by various ancient authorities to have contained approximately 500,000 rolls.<sup>104</sup> Even though this number is probably an

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<sup>102</sup> Isidore may have found the number in a scholium to Jerome's letter or in an encyclopedia. C. Wendel, *Handbuch der Bibl.*, III.132, suggests that Isidore derived the number from the list of books appended to Eusebius' *Vita Pamphili*, but it seems implausible that Isidore knew this Greek work. On Isidore's lack of facility in (and lack of interest in learning) the Greek language, see J. Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville et la culture classique dans l'Espagne wisigothique* (Paris, 1959; second revised and corrected edition 1983), II.849–851.

<sup>103</sup> Isidore often quotes his sources inaccurately, and his work was from the beginning a problematic text, since he sent it unedited to his friend Braulio of Saragossa, who was then responsible for correcting it. See W. M. Lindsay, "The Editing of Isidore *Etymologiae*," *CQ* 5 (1911), pp. 42–53; and J. Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville*, II.735–784.

<sup>104</sup> The original library eventually was augmented by another collection attached to the Temple of Serapis, and in the Roman period the collection expanded into

exaggeration (a library that was a tenth of this size would still have been very large in antiquity), it should be remembered that the Alexandrian Museum was meant to contain all of Greek literature, and its collection included technical manuals, the Alexandrian librarians' own works (often literary aids), and specialized works, like cook-books.<sup>105</sup> Such was not the case with the Caesarean library, which was built around the scholarly, pedagogical, and archival needs of Origen and his successors. And while the Alexandrian library must have contained many duplicates of literary works, the Caesarean library may have held multiple copies only of versions of the Scriptures.<sup>106</sup>

By the evidence of Plutarch (*Ant.* 58.9), at the end of the Hellenistic period the library at Pergamum numbered 200,000 rolls. Emperors had established several public libraries at Rome, and in this city there were, of course, also private libraries of wealthy individuals.<sup>107</sup>

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other temples. Aristeas, *Ad Philocratem epistula* 10 (which Eusebius quotes at *PE* VIII.2.2 and from which Josephus derives his account at *Ant.* XII.12–13), reports that Demetrius of Phalerum told Ptolemy that he had acquired more than 200,000 books and that the collection would eventually contain 500,000. Aulus Gellius, VII.17.3, reports that all 700,000 *volumina* were destroyed in the *bellum Alexandrinum*. Ammianus Marcellinus, 22.16.12–13, puts two libraries in the Temple of Serapis, the total of which was 700,000 volumes. He adds that the library was destroyed by fire under Julius Caesar and (at 22.16.15) that Alexandria was more fully destroyed by Aurelian (in 270). Seneca, *De tranquillitate animi* 9.4–5, states that 40,000 *libri* were destroyed by fire. The figure is 400,000 in Orosius, *Hist. adv. pag.* VI.15.31. J. Tzetzes, *Prolegomena de comoedia* 11a.2.10–11 Koster, distinguishes between the library inside the palace (490,000 rolls) and that outside (presumably the Sarapeum: 42,800 rolls). On the fate of the library, see D. Delia, "From Romance to Rhetoric: the Alexandrian Library in Classical and Islamic Traditions," *AHR* 97 (1992), pp. 1449–1467.

<sup>105</sup> R. Blum, *Kallimachos: the Alexandrian Library and the Origins of Bibliography*, H. H. Wellisch, trans. (Madison, WI, 1991), pp. 99–123, discusses the nature and size of the Alexandrian library.

<sup>106</sup> On the other hand, it is not unknown for a private library to have had duplicates of classical texts: see PSI Laur. Inv. 19662 v, an Oxyrhynchite papyrus from the third century AD, for a catalogue of philosophical works that includes duplicates of several Platonic dialogues (in R. Otranto, *Antiche liste di libri su papiri*, *Sussidi eruditi* 49 [Roma, 2000], pp. 89–95).

<sup>107</sup> See C. Dziatzko, "Bibliotheken," *RE* (1897), cols. 415–420; C. Wendel, "Bibliothek," *RAC* (1954), cols. 243–245; H. Y. Gamble, *Books and Readers*, pp. 183–189. Augustus was the first to create imperial public libraries, and he was followed by many of his successors (Tiberius, Vespasian, Trajan). Julius Africanus converted the Pantheon into a library for Alexander Severus (*P. Oxy* III.412). But, even before imperial libraries were established in Rome, men such as Cicero and Atticus must have had considerable personal collections: see, for example, P. Fedeli, "Biblioteche private e pubbliche a Roma e nel mondo romano," *Le biblioteche nel*

According to one extrapolation from the amount of space it allowed for niches of books, Trajan's *bibliotheca Ulpia* may have contained approximately 30,000 rolls.<sup>108</sup> The library that Hadrian donated to Athens may have been only a little smaller.<sup>109</sup>

The sizes of some smaller, private libraries may also be considered. The figures here are sometimes more reliable than those for the most famous libraries, since some of the evidence is firsthand. For example, when the famous "Villa dei Papiri" was discovered in the eighteenth century, approximately 1700 rolls of papyrus were found in the library, which was probably the working collection of the Epicurean philosopher Philodemus.<sup>110</sup> Martial reports that his private library exceeded 120 rolls (*Ep.* 14.190). Persius owned 700 rolls of the works of Chrysippus (Suetonius, *Vita Persi* 1), and his complete library must have been larger. The Suidas lexicon states that the grammarian Epaphroditus of Chaeronea possessed 30,000 rolls.<sup>111</sup> SHA, *Gord.* 18.2–3, reports that Gordian II inherited 62,000 *libri* from his tutor, the son of Serenus Sammonicus, but the unreliability of the *Historia Augusta* naturally casts doubt on this number.<sup>112</sup> A papyrus from the third century reveals the existence of an Egyptian library of at least 428 volumes (132 philosophical, 296 medical).<sup>113</sup>

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*mondo antico e medievale*, G. Cavallo, ed. (Bari, 1988), pp. 34–38. H. Y. Gamble, *Books and Readers*, p. 188, reports that Atticus had 20,000 rolls, but he does not cite a source for this number.

<sup>108</sup> The figure comes from K. Vössing, "Bibliothek," *Neue Pauly* (1997), col. 644, who reports that Trajan's library possessed over 72 bookcases with 288 square meters of usable space; he proposes that there were between 80 and 150 rolls to each square meter of space. But, L. Casson, *Libraries in the Ancient World* (New Haven, CT, 2001), pp. 87–88, citing J. Packer, *The Forum of Trajan in Rome* (Berkeley, 1997), I.450–454, reports the number of rolls as 20,000.

<sup>109</sup> For Hadrian's Library in Athens, L. Casson, *Libraries in the Ancient World*, pp. 113–114, reports 66 niches that were smaller and narrower than those in Trajan's library.

<sup>110</sup> The number comes from C. Jensen, "La biblioteca di Ercolano," *Saggi di papirologia ercolanese*, C. Jensen, W. Schmid, M. Gigante, edd. (Naples, 1979), p. 11. Many of the works are Philodemus' own. Not all have been unrolled successfully, and more rolls may await discovery.

<sup>111</sup> Suidas, s.v. Ἐπαφρόδιτος. H. Y. Gamble, *Books and Readers*, p. 188, seems to confuse this grammarian of the first century (*RE* 5.2 [1905], E. [5]) with an Epaphroditus who was one of Nero's freedmen (*RE* 5.2 [1905], E. [4]).

<sup>112</sup> L. D. Bruce, "A Reappraisal of Roman Libraries in the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*," *Journal of Library History* 16 (1981), pp. 557–558, rejects the number entirely.

<sup>113</sup> P. Var. 5, published by G. Manteuffel, ed., with L. Zawadowski and C. Rozenberg, *Papyri Varsovienses*, Universitas Varsoviensis: Acta Facultatis Litterarum 1 (Warsaw, 1935), pp. 7–12. It is not known whether the library was a public or private one.

At the other end of the bibliographic spectrum are libraries whose contents were presumably limited to codices. The imperial library that was eventually established at Constantinople reportedly contained 120,000 volumes, at least by the year 475.<sup>114</sup> Cedrenus relates that in the same city a library of 36,500 volumes was destroyed by fire in the eighth century.<sup>115</sup> The Nag Hammadi library of the fourth century, possibly part of the larger library of the nearby Pachomian monastery, preserves almost fifty-two works in twelve codices.<sup>116</sup>

Private and monastic libraries later in the Byzantine period could be rather small: at the end of the ninth century Photius' list of the works that he had read totaled 386 (in 280 descriptions), though Photius' list of what he has read is not the equivalent of a listing of the contents of his complete library.<sup>117</sup> In the early thirteenth century the library at Patmos contained approximately 330 books, while that at Lavra contained approximately 960.<sup>118</sup> By comparison, at the end of the ninth century in the West, the exceptional collection at Bobbio numbered almost 700 codices.<sup>119</sup>

More characteristic, perhaps, of Eusebius' age are the private libraries of Jerome and Augustine. If Jerome's personal collection included the almost 200 works of Origen that he lists in his *Ep.* 33, his entire library must have been significantly larger. As a student in Rome, Jerome began to collect the Latin classics, and his later travels to Antioch, Constantinople, Alexandria, and Palestine enabled him, with the assistance of his own band of copyists (*Ep.* 5.2), to acquire books continuously. He possessed some pagan and Jewish

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<sup>114</sup> This is the report of Zonaras, 14.2.22–24 (following Malchus), who explains that in 475 the library suffered from a fire. The imperial library was probably founded by Constantius II: see C. Wendel, "Die erste kaiserliche Bibliothek in Konstantinopel," *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 59 (1942), pp. 193–209; P. Lemerle, *Byzantine Humanism: the First Phase*, H. Lindsay and A. Moffat, trans., Byzantine Australiensia 3 (Canberra, 1986), pp. 55–63. Lemerle thinks the number 120,000 "must be taken as an exaggeration" (p. 71).

<sup>115</sup> Cedrenus I p. 454 Par; Zonaras XV.3, as cited by C. Dziatzko, "Bibliotheken," *RE* (1897), col. 420.

<sup>116</sup> J. Montserrat-Torrents, "The Social and Cultural Setting of the Coptic Gnostic Library," *Studia Patristica* 31 (1997), pp. 464–481.

<sup>117</sup> The number comes from W. T. Treadgold, *The Nature of the Bibliotheca of Photius* (Washington, DC, 1980), p. 5.

<sup>118</sup> These are the estimates of N. G. Wilson, "The Libraries of the Byzantine World," *GRBS* 8 (1967), pp. 67–70, whose numbers are repeated in A. Khazdan and R. Browning, "Library," *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* 2 (1991), p. 1224.

<sup>119</sup> K. Christ, *The Handbook of Medieval Library History*, revised by A. Kern, T. M. Otto, trans. (Metuchen, NJ, 1984), p. 14 (and see also pp. 75–77).

literature and many works by both Latin and Greek Fathers, as well as biblical manuscripts.<sup>120</sup> Jerome's younger contemporary, Augustine, left his library to the church at Hippo.<sup>121</sup> It was also a large collection, if only because Augustine himself was so prolific—his biographer compiled a list of 1,030 total works by him<sup>122</sup>—but there were certainly many other classical and Christian works in his library.

The library at Caesarea was undoubtedly smaller than the great library at Alexandria and the combined resources to be found at Rome, yet it was surely larger than the average private library and, in the Byzantine period, the sorts of monastic libraries that existed outside Constantinople. In Eusebius' time, the library at Caesarea resembled a research library more than a private collection: it enjoyed the supervision of Origen, Pamphilus, and Eusebius, a succession of men who were all dedicated to scholarship and who all ensured that, over the course of several generations and despite inevitable damage, there were continual acquisitions of books in various fields of learning from Christian, Jewish, and pagan authors. If an enormous ancient library contained 50,000 rolls while a good personal library could number in the low thousands, perhaps the library at Caesarea sat comfortably in the middle, or even rather closer to the smaller size.

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<sup>120</sup> On Jerome's library, see G. Grützmacher, *Hieronymus: eine biographische Studie zur alten Kirchengeschichte*, Studien zur Geschichte der Theologie und der Kirche VI.3 (Leipzig, 1901), I.126–128; P. Courcelle, *Late Latin Writers*, pp. 48–127. C. Wendel, *Handbuch der Bibl.*, III.136, calls Jerome's the most important private collection of his generation.

<sup>121</sup> Possidius, *Vita Augustini* 31.5: *Testamentum nullo fecit, quia unde faceret pauper Dei non habuit. Ecclesiae bibliothecam omnesque codices diligenter posteris custodiendos semper iubebat.* ("He did not make a will, since as a pauper of God he did not have anything to give. He used to order that the church's library and all its codices always be carefully preserved for later generations.")

<sup>122</sup> Possidius, *Vita Augustini*, indiculus.

## CHAPTER TWO

### EUSEBIUS' USE OF SOURCES

#### A. CHRONOLOGY OF EUSEBIUS' LIFE AND WORKS

Eusebius apparently confessed himself to have been brought up on writing,<sup>1</sup> and he was indeed a voluminous author. Only the most general chronology of Eusebius' life and writings was given in the previous chapter, and a more detailed survey now will help to explain the circumstances under which Eusebius wrote his early works. There has been much scholarly dispute over the dates of Eusebius' works, and in the following table only the more controversial dates have been supplied with notes to indicate supporting references.<sup>2</sup>

260–264	Birth of Eusebius.
ca. 285/6	Arrival of Pamphilus at Caesarea.
290's	Eusebius devises the <i>Evangelical Canons</i> ? <sup>3</sup>
February 303–April 311	Great Persecution in the East.
Nov. 307	Pamphilus is arrested and imprisoned ( <i>M.Pal.</i> 7.4–6).
308–310	<i>Defense of Origen.</i> Pamphilus composes five books in prison, while Eusebius completes the sixth book. <sup>4</sup>
16 Feb. 310	Martyrdom of Pamphilus ( <i>M.Pal.</i> 11).

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<sup>1</sup> Thanking Eusebius for a treatise on the dating of Easter, Constantine writes at *VC* IV.35.3: συνορῶν τοίνυν μεθ' ὅσης θυμηδίας τὰ τοιαῦτα παρὰ τῆς σῆς ἀγγινοίας δῶρα λαμβάνομεν, συνεχεστέροις ἡμᾶς λόγοις εὐφραίνειν, οἷς ἐντεθράφθαι σαυτὸν ὁμολογεῖς, προθυμήθητι. ("Seeing, therefore, with what great gladness of heart we receive such gifts from your sagacity, be eager to delight us with more frequent writings, by which exercise you admit you were yourself trained.")

<sup>2</sup> For other general chronologies, see J. B. Lightfoot, "Eusebius of Caesarea," *DCB* 2 (1880), pp. 308–348; E. Schwartz, "Eusebios von Caesarea," *RE* VI.1 (1907), cols. 1370–1439; D. S. Wallace-Hadrill, *Eusebius of Caesarea* (London, 1960), pp. 39–58; T. D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius* (Cambridge, MA, 1981), especially pp. 277–279; F. Winkelmann, *Euseb von Kaisareia: der Vater der Kirchengeschichte* (Berlin, 1991), especially pp. 188–191.

<sup>3</sup> This dating is conjectured by T. D. Barnes, *CE*, p. 122.

<sup>4</sup> The first book is extant in Rufinus' translation (PG 17:541–616); see also Photius, *codd.* 117–118.

310–311	<i>Life of Pamphilus</i> ( <i>M.Pal.</i> 11.3 [S]; <i>HE</i> VI.32.3; VII.32.25).
308–311	<i>Chronicon</i> . Eusebius completes the work after May 311. <sup>5</sup>
30 April 311	Galerius issues his Edict of Toleration. Persecution temporarily relaxed. Eusebius composes the long recension of the <i>Martyrs of Palestine</i> .
Late 311	Maximin Daia renews persecution in the East. Eusebius travels to Phoenicia and Egypt. <sup>6</sup> Eusebius probably composes the <i>Contra Hieroclem</i> . <sup>7</sup>
Summer 313	Death of Maximin Daia. Persecution ends. Possible second edition of the <i>Chronicon</i> . By this time (before the composition of the <i>HE</i> ), Eusebius has assembled his <i>Collection of Ancient Martyrdoms</i> ( <i>HE</i> IV.15.47).
Between 310 and 313	<i>General Elementary Introduction</i> . Four books (VI–IX) are extant under the title <i>Prophetic Extracts</i> ( <i>Eclogae propheticæ</i> ). <sup>8</sup>
313–314	First edition of the <i>HE</i> (= I–VII; short recension of MP; appendix; Galerius' edict; IX [the account of persecution under Daia, 311–313]). <sup>9</sup>

<sup>5</sup> For the chronology of Eusebius' composition of the *Chronicon*, see R. W. Burgess, "The Dates and Editions of Eusebius' *Chronici Canones* and *Historia Ecclesiastica*," *JTS* 48 (1997), pp. 471–504.

<sup>6</sup> T. D. Barnes, *CE*, p. 148, also suggests Arabia.

<sup>7</sup> M. Forrat in *SC* #333 (Paris, 1986), pp. 20–26. On the other hand, T. D. Barnes, *CE*, pp. 164–167, and "Sossianus Hierocles and the Antecedents of the Great Persecution," *HSCP* 80 (1976), pp. 242–243, dates the work to shortly before 303. But, T. Hägg has challenged Eusebian authorship altogether in "Hierocles the Lover of Truth and Eusebius the Sophist," *SO* 67 (1992), pp. 144–150. Hägg observes that both the early (before 303) and the late (311 or later) datings of the *Contra Hieroclem* involve contradictions, that Eusebius never refers to the *Contra Hieroclem* elsewhere, that the work itself lacks Biblical quotations, and that the style (Second Sophistic) and attitude of the *Contra Hieroclem* are inconsistent with those of all of Eusebius' other works. These points, especially the last, certainly cast serious doubt on Eusebian authorship, but since Hägg himself admits that the "above considerations are of course not enough to *prove* the inauthenticity" of the *Contra Hieroclem* (p. 149, italics in original), it seems prudent to retain the work in Eusebius' corpus.

<sup>8</sup> The *Eclogae Propheticæ* cites the *Chronicon* (PG 22:1024A), but the *Extracts* itself seems to be alluded to at *HE* I.2.27. Book X may survive as a commentary on Luke completed after 309: see T. D. Barnes, *CE*, pp. 167–174; D. S. Wallace-Hadrill, "Eusebius of Caesarea's *Commentary on Luke*: Its Origin and Early History," *HTR* 67 (1974), pp. 55–63.

<sup>9</sup> R. W. Burgess, "Dates and Editions," *JTS* (1997).

315	By this time Eusebius has been elevated to the episcopate of Caesarea. He delivers his panegyric of the new church at Tyre ( <i>HE</i> X.4).
315–316	Second edition of the <i>HE</i> (= present I–IX, with X.5–7).
314–318	<i>Praeparatio Evangelica</i> . <sup>10</sup>
318–323	<i>Demonstratio Evangelica</i> . <sup>11</sup>
ca. 320?	<i>Gospel Questions and Solutions</i> ( <i>Ad Stephanum</i> and <i>Ad Marinum</i> ). <sup>12</sup>
ca. 321	Synod at Caesarea (Arius acquitted but urged to submit to his bishop). <sup>13</sup>
Before 324?	<i>Against Porphyry</i> . <sup>14</sup>
324	Constantine gains possession of the East.
After 324	<i>Onomasticon</i> . <sup>15</sup> <i>On Easter</i> ( <i>VC</i> IV.34–35).

<sup>10</sup> J. Sirinelli in *SC* #206 (Paris, 1974), pp. 8–14; T. D. Barnes, *CE*, p. 178. W. Treadgold, *The Nature of the Bibliotheca of Photius* (Washington, DC, 1980), pp. 76–78, is probably correct to view the *Praeparatio ecclesiastica*, known from Photius, *cod.* 11, as an inaccurate reference to the *PE*.

<sup>11</sup> J. Sirinelli in *SC* #206 (Paris, 1974), pp. 14–15; T. D. Barnes, *CE*, p. 178. W. Treadgold, *The Nature of the Bibliotheca of Photius*, pp. 76–78, is probably correct to view the *Demonstratio ecclesiastica*, known from Photius, *cod.* 12, as an inaccurate reference to the *DE*.

<sup>12</sup> T. D. Barnes, *CE*, p. 122. *DE* VII.3.18 refers to the *Ad Stephanum*, and *Ad Stephanum* 7.7 refers to the *DE*.

<sup>13</sup> Sozomen, *HE* I.15.11. R. P. C. Hanson, *The Search for the Christian Doctrine of God: the Arian Controversy, 313–81* (Edinburgh, 1988), p. 135; R. Williams, *Arius: Heresy and Tradition* (London, 1987), p. 56.

<sup>14</sup> The work is undated. It is known from Jerome, *Ep.* 70.3, that it was in 25 books; cf. *De viris ill.* 81. A. von Harnack, ed., *Porphyrius, "Gegen die Christen," 15 Bücher: Zeugnisse, Fragmente, und Referate, Abhandlungen der königlichen preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse 1* (Berlin, 1916), pp. 30 and 48, cites other manuscripts that report the existence of Eusebius' work. Some have thought it an early work (e.g., Harnack, in his edition, p. 30; E. Schwartz, "Eusebios," *RE* (1907), col. 1395; T. D. Barnes, *CE*, pp. 174–175, who seems to place it before 313; A. Kofsky, *Eusebius of Caesarea against Paganism* [Leiden, 2000], p. 71), while some have thought it a late work (e.g., Valois, cited by J. B. Lightfoot in *DCB* 2 [1880], p. 329, dating it after 325 because it is not mentioned in Eusebius' earlier works). It may be more likely that it was written early in Eusebius' career if Constantine did in fact order copies of the *Adversus Christianos* to be burned (Socrates, *HE* I.9), as T. D. Barnes, "Scholarship or Propaganda? Porphyry Against the Christians in Its Historical Setting," *BICS* 39 (1994), p. 53, thinks. On the other hand, Porphyry's work must have survived Constantine's order, since Apollinaris of Laodicea (fl. 350) knew the work (Jerome, *De viris ill.* 104) and Theodosius II condemned it a second time (Cod. Theod. XVI.5.66 and Cod. Just. I.1.3; Socrates, *HE* I.9.31).

<sup>15</sup> A. Louth, "The Date of Eusebius' *Historia Ecclesiastica*," *JTS* 41 (1990), pp. 118–120, makes clear that the work was composed after 315, possibly ca. 326. If Eusebius used government documents for this work, it may then belong to the period after Constantine conquered the East.



	<i>Theophany. Commentary on Isaiah</i> . <sup>16</sup> <i>Commentary on the Psalms</i> . <sup>17</sup>
Spring 325	Council of Antioch (Eusebius excommunicated). <sup>18</sup>
Summer 325	Council of Nicaea (Eusebius rehabilitated). Eusebius writes a letter of explanation to his flock at Caesarea. <sup>19</sup>
325–326	Final edition of the <i>HE</i> (= present form, with the exception of X.5–7). Final edition of the <i>Chronicon</i> (= the edition translated by Jerome and extant in Armenian).
Dec. 327/Jan. 328	Synod at Nicomedia (Arius restored). <sup>20</sup>
Late 328	Council of Antioch (deposition of Eustathius). <sup>21</sup>
334	Council of Caesarea. <sup>22</sup>
335	Council of Tyre (deposition of Athanasius). <sup>23</sup> Eusebius delivers speech on the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem (17 Sept.) ( <i>VC</i> IV.45.3). Eusebius

<sup>16</sup> At *Comm. in Isaiam* 121.8 (on Is. 18:2), Eusebius seems to make reference to the *Onomasticon*, and so the *Commentary* must have been composed later. Like the *Onomasticon*, the *Comm. in Isaiam* is silent about Constantine's foundations in Palestine. For a discussion of the dating, see M. J. Hollerich, *Eusebius of Caesarea's Commentary on Isaiah* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 19–26, who narrows the dating of this commentary to between 325 and 328.

<sup>17</sup> A. von Harnack, *Gesch. Der altchr. Lit.*, II.2, pp. 122–123, dates the *Commentary on the Psalms* after the year 330. For a pre-Nicene date, however, see M.-J. Rondeau, *Les Commentaires patristiques du psautier (III<sup>e</sup>–V<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, Orientalia Christiana Analecta 219–220 (Rome, 1982–1985), I.66–69.

<sup>18</sup> R. P. C. Hanson, *Search*, pp. 146–151.

<sup>19</sup> *VC* III.6–21; R. P. C. Hanson, *Search*, pp. 152–172. Eusebius' letter appears in H. G. Opitz, *Urkunden*, III.22 from Athanasius, *De decretis*; cf. Socrates, *HE* I.8; Theodoret, *HE* I.21.1.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. *VC* III.23; Philostorgius, *HE* II.7; Socrates, *HE* II.16 and 19; Theodoret, *HE* I.21. See R. P. C. Hanson, *Search*, pp. 175–178; T. D. Barnes, "Emperor and Bishops, AD 324–344: Some Problems," *AJAH* 3 (1978), pp. 60–61; at *CE*, p. 266, Barnes assumes that Eusebius attended this synod.

<sup>21</sup> Theodoret, *HE* I.21, places Eusebius at the council; cf. Sozomen, *HE* II.19. See R. W. Burgess, "The Date of the Deposition of Eustathius of Antioch," *JTS* 51 (2000), pp. 150–160. Other dates have been proposed: 326 by T. D. Barnes, "Emperor and Bishops," *AJAH* (1978), p. 60; 327 by H. Chadwick, "The Fall of Eustathius of Antioch," *JTS* 49 (1948), pp. 32 and 35; 330/1 by R. P. C. Hanson, "The Fate of Eustathius of Antioch," *ZKG* 95 (1984), pp. 171–179. According to Burgess's chronology, Eusebius would also have presided at a council in Antioch in early 329 for the deposition of Asclepas of Gaza (p. 159).

<sup>22</sup> Sozomen, *HE* II.2.5; Theodoret, *HE* I.28.2–4; see also R. P. C. Hanson, *Search*, pp. 252–258 with notes 64 and 88.

<sup>23</sup> *VC* IV.41–42; other evidence discussed at R. P. C. Hanson, *Search*, pp. 259–261.

	goes to Constantinople (Nov.; exile of Athanasius) and delivers speech on Church of the Holy Sepulchre ( <i>VC</i> IV.33). <sup>24</sup>
After 335	<i>Contra Marcellum</i> and <i>De ecclesiastica theologia</i> .
336	<i>Tricennalia</i> of Constantine. Eusebius delivers the <i>Laus Constantini</i> at Constantinople (July) ( <i>VC</i> IV.46). <sup>25</sup> Deposition of Marcellus of Ancyra.
337	Death of Constantine.
339	Composition of the <i>Vita Constantini</i> . Death of Eusebius (30 May).

It will be clear from the chronology supplied above that I follow R. W. Burgess's dating of the *Chronicon*, *Martyrs of Palestine*, and *HE*.<sup>26</sup> Prior to Burgess's research, scholars often dated the *Chronicon* to before 303, while T. D. Barnes has even argued that the first seven books of the *HE* were composed before the year 300.<sup>27</sup> Barnes's work, in particular, has been widely accepted, as has his vision of Eusebius as first of all a scholar: "He did not compose his major works under the influence of Constantine, nor was he primarily an apologist who wrote to defend the Christian faith at a time of danger. As Eusebius grew to manhood, the peaceful triumph of Christianity seemed already assured: Eusebius began as a scholar, made himself into a historian, and turned to apologetics only under the pressure

<sup>24</sup> On the two speeches on the Holy Sepulchre, see H. A. Drake, *In Praise of Constantine* (Berkeley, 1976), pp. 30–45; T. D. Barnes, "Two Speeches by Eusebius," *GRBS* 18 (1977), pp. 341–345. Drake thinks that the extant speech on the Holy Sepulchre, which is appended to the *VC* as chapters 11–18 of the *Laus Constantini*, is the same speech as that given by Eusebius at Jerusalem and Constantinople. Barnes thinks that the extant speech is that which was delivered at Jerusalem, mistakenly appended to the *VC* in the place of the slightly different speech delivered at Constantinople.

<sup>25</sup> H. A. Drake, *In Praise of Constantine*; T. D. Barnes, "Two Speeches," *GRBS* (1977).

<sup>26</sup> That is, in R. W. Burgess, "Dates and Editions," *JTS* (1997).

<sup>27</sup> E. Schwartz, "Eusebios," *RE* (1907), col. 1376, thinks that the composition of the *Chronicon*, or at least the collection of materials for it, must be dated before 303; J. Sirinelli, *Les vues historiques d'Eusèbe de Césarée durant la période pré-nicéenne* (Dakar, 1961), p. 32, while not excluding the possibility that Eusebius worked during the persecution, thinks that Eusebius began it before 303, even if it was completed after 311; D. S. Wallace-Hadrill, *Eusebius*, p. 57, dates the *Chronicle* before 303. See T. D. Barnes, *CE*, pp. 111–120 on the *Chronicon*, which he says was not a "historical apologia for Christianity" but "primarily a work of pure scholarship"; pp. 126–147 on the *HE*, for which see also his article "The Editions of Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*," *GRBS* 21 (1980), pp. 191–201.

of circumstances.”<sup>28</sup> But, as Burgess makes clear, the implications of this new chronology are significant: while Eusebius was indeed trained by Pamphilus to be a biblical scholar, most of his most important works, those composed before 324, including the historical ones, were developed not in an atmosphere of disinterested scholarship but in response to the criticisms of Porphyry and the pressures of actual persecution.

Before the year 303, Eusebius occupied himself above all with the study of the Bible. He helped to transcribe copies of the Scriptures, sometimes including Origen’s scholia, and he probably also devised his *Evangelical Canons*. He had likely also read the historians and philosophers available to him in the library at Caesarea, especially if these works constituted part of his education under Pamphilus. The outbreak of persecution presented a grave physical challenge to the Church, but it also presented Eusebius with opportunities to defend and encourage the Church in writing. Eusebius completed Pamphilus’ *Defense of Origen*, which answered contemporary critics of Origen and, according to Photius, was addressed to Paternythius and other Christians who had been condemned to the mines. He then composed a *Life of Pamphilus* after his teacher’s martyrdom in 310. It must, in addition, have been during the persecution that Eusebius compiled his *Collection of Ancient Martyrdoms*, no doubt again in order to encourage the persecuted.

Looming over this period is the menacing figure of Porphyry. Whether Porphyry’s *Adversus Christianos* was composed in the 270’s or in ca. 300 (and if it was not the *De philosophia ex oraculis*, on which see *infra* the entry on Porphyry), his searching criticisms of the Church will have become especially prominent once persecution began. Other pagans in the East had also recently composed attacks on Christianity: Sossianus Hierocles addressed his *Truth-loving Discourse* to Christians some time before 303, and Lactantius (*Div. Inst.* V.2.12) tells of a philosopher who wrote three books against the Christians.<sup>29</sup> But Porphyry’s attack was the most serious, of such weight that Methodius of Olympus (Jerome, *De viris ill.* 83) and Eusebius each composed refutations, as later did Apollinaris of Laodicea (Jerome, *De viris ill.*

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<sup>28</sup> T. D. Barnes, *CE*, p. 104. Some were still sceptical, however: see A. Louth, “Date,” *JTS* (1990).

<sup>29</sup> T. D. Barnes, *CE*, p. 22; on the title of Hierocles’ work, T. Hägg, *SO* 67 (1992), pp. 140–143.

106; Philostorgius, *HE* VIII.14). Arnobius of Sicca, too, it seems, wrote his *Adversus nationes* at this time in response to the attacks of Porphyry and others.<sup>30</sup>

Eusebius, however, is remarkable in the extent to which he responded to contemporary attacks on the Church. During the persecution he began the *Chronicon*, a work that would set out the chronological evidence of the priority of the Jewish tradition. For example, Eusebius was keen to show how earlier Jewish and Christian chronographers, but especially Porphyry, had miscalculated the date of Moses. Moses, Eusebius found, was not as ancient as even Porphyry thought, yet, because he was the contemporary of Cecrops, he was manifestly more ancient than the Greek gods, heroes, and philosophers (cf. *PE* X.9). Eusebius was also keen to emphasize the historicity of the Resurrection by referring to a corroborating non-Christian source, Phlegon of Tralles (pp. 174–175 Helm), and in the succeeding chronological entries Eusebius carefully noted the various misfortunes of the Jews (pp. 176a; 177e; 178e; 180e; etc.). Of course, the *Chronicon* also served other apologetic purposes: its very starting point (Abraham, not Creation) contradicted millenarian beliefs, for example.<sup>31</sup>

At this time Eusebius completed the *General Elementary Introduction*, a work intended to prove the truth of Christianity in its later books by examining the various Scriptural prophecies of Christ. Eusebius also, it seems, decided to respond to the attack of Hierocles' Φιλαλήθης and its comparison of Jesus with Apollonius of Tyana.<sup>32</sup>

During the persecution Eusebius also began the *Martyrs of Palestine*, the long version of which he probably completed in the summer of 311, when Maximin Daia briefly relaxed the persecution. Eusebius commemorated the deeds of those who withstood the persecution at a time when toleration was not guaranteed. His treatment of the Church's struggles in the present, combined with the chronological structure produced in the *Chronicon*, must have turned Eusebius to

<sup>30</sup> M. B. Simmons, *Arnobius of Sicca: Religious Conflict and Competition in the Age of Diocletian* (Oxford, 1995).

<sup>31</sup> On the *Chronicon*, see especially R. W. Burgess, "Dates and Editions," *JTS* (1997), pp. 490–497; W. Adler, "Eusebius' Chronicle and Its Legacy," *Eusebius, Christianity, and Judaism*, pp. 467–491; A. Kofsky, *Eusebius of Caesarea against Paganism*, pp. 38–40.

<sup>32</sup> On the apologetic aims of these works, see A. Kofsky, *Eusebius of Caesarea against Paganism*, pp. 50–71. See above, p. 38, note 7, on the disputed nature of Eusebius' authorship of the *Contra Hieroclem*.

the idea of narrative history. The *Ecclesiastical History* in nine books expands the canons of the *Chronicon* by showing in more detail the vitality and strength of the Church from its inception under Christ, and it subsumes the *M.Pal.* by finishing with the Church's emergence out of persecution in 313. The *HE*, too, has an apologetic purpose, evident in Eusebius' stated intention at the beginning of his work to record the succession of bishops, prominent Christian teachers, disruptive heretics, the fate of the Jews, and the persecutions endured by the Church, including contemporary martyrdoms (*HE* I.1.1–2).<sup>33</sup>

Within a few years of the second edition of the *HE*, Eusebius began his greatest and most thoroughly apologetic work, the combined *Preparation for the Gospel* in fifteen extant books and *Demonstration of the Gospel* in twenty books, of which ten survive. In the first part Eusebius attempts to let the words of the Greeks themselves undermine their pagan theology; he argues for the superiority of Hebrew wisdom; and he then shows how the best Greek thought, especially Platonism, agrees with Hebrew wisdom, while other philosophical schools fall into error and contradiction. In the second part Eusebius expounds the prophecies available in the Scriptures to show how the Hebrew tradition is fulfilled in Christianity. When Eusebius began this project, the Church had emerged from persecution, yet under Licinius persecution again threatened. Porphyry was still a significant target: after Plato, Porphyry is the secular author most frequently quoted by Eusebius in the *PE*. But it is not merely one attack by Porphyry from which Eusebius quotes, for Eusebius takes pains to expose the inconsistencies of Christianity's chief opponent in at least six of his works.<sup>34</sup> Even if the *PE* and *DE* are not intended as a specific response to Porphyry's attack on Christianity, a response that Eusebius presumably made in his *Against Porphyry*, Porphyry represented the most recent, most complete, and most effective of the pagan challenges to Christianity and so figures prominently in many of the subjects (ancient pagan mythology, oracles, demonology, and the dependence of Greek thought on Hebrew wisdom) that Eusebius treated when he decided to compose his exhaustive defense of Christianity.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>33</sup> On the *HE*, see E. Schwartz, "Eusebios," *RE* (1907), cols. 1399–1402; A. J. Droge, "The Apologetic Dimension of the *Ecclesiastical History*," *Eusebius, Christianity, and Judaism*, pp. 492–509; A. Kofsky, *Eusebius of Caesarea against Paganism*, pp. 40–45.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. J. Sirinelli, *SC* #206 (Paris, 1974), pp. 28–34.

<sup>35</sup> A. Kofsky devotes the bulk of his *Eusebius of Caesarea against Paganism* (Leiden,

Perhaps scholars can now return to an earlier view of Eusebius, to agree, for example, with J. Stevenson that "though Eusebius attempted so many branches of literature, we may be sure that his main interest was in Apologetics, not in Chronology or History for its own sake."<sup>36</sup>

#### B. EUSEBIUS' USE OF SOURCES FIRSTHAND

It is quite consistent with the apologetic purpose of Eusebius' early works that Eusebius generously quotes from his sources. Earlier apologists, authors like Josephus, Justin Martyr, Theophilus of Antioch, Tatian, and Clement of Alexandria, with whose work Eusebius was familiar, had likewise quoted passages that either supported their arguments or invited criticism. Origen provided the example of a point by point refutation of a single work in his *Contra Celsum*.

But can one tell whether Eusebius drew his quotations, or, indeed made any references to texts, from complete editions that he used firsthand? This question is sometimes impossible to answer, and no general rules can be offered. Ordinarily, Eusebius names the author and work from which he quotes, and he often quotes at such great length that one can reasonably conclude that Eusebius possessed a copy of the work. Shorter quotations are, naturally, more problematic. The case of each source must be examined individually in order to determine the likelihood of whether Eusebius knew the work firsthand or at second hand.

It might seem that comparing Eusebius' quotations with those of the direct, manuscript tradition (when possible) would help to illuminate the kinds of texts Eusebius used at Caesarea. For example, in his edition of Plato's *Gorgias*, E. R. Dodds finds that the text Eusebius used in the *Praeparatio Evangelica* is similar to the exemplar of manuscript F (Vindobonensis suppl. phil. gr. 39 of the thirteenth

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2000) to an analysis of the apologetic technique of the *PE* and *DE*. He maintains that Eusebius did not intend the *PE* and *DE* as a "specific response to Porphyry's book [the *Adversus Christianos*], but rather as a comprehensive anti-pagan campaign in which Porphyry was perceived as leading the opposing camp" (p. 274). See also M. Frede, "Eusebius' Apologetic Writings," *Apologetics in the Roman Empire: Pagans, Jews, and Christians*, M. Edwards et al., edd. (Oxford, 1999), pp. 240–250.

<sup>36</sup> J. Stevenson, *Studies in Eusebius* (Cambridge, 1929), p. 35.

or fourteenth century).<sup>37</sup> Eusebius' text of the *Gorgias*, concludes Dodds, is therefore more closely related to the "commercial" or "popular" texts, as opposed to the scholarly editions with commentary, of the first and second centuries.<sup>38</sup>

More recently, however, scholars have questioned the idea of an identifiable relationship between ancient and medieval texts. For example, papyrologists emphasize that ancient scholars ordinarily collated their manuscripts with other exemplars and that, as a result, the corrected manuscript was immediately contaminated "horizontally."<sup>39</sup> Eusebius' text of a work that also exists in the direct tradition, such as the *Gorgias*, will likely, then, have been "horizontally contaminated"; when Eusebius' text is compared with the direct tradition, even if the text can apparently be identified with a particular manuscript tradition, there may be no direct connection between them. If there is no link between ancient manuscripts, including Eusebius' texts, and medieval manuscripts, then the results of the comparison of quotations may simply be similar to those obtained by I. A. Heikel, when he compared the passages of Diodorus Siculus quoted in the *PE* with those of the direct tradition.<sup>40</sup> Heikel concludes that Eusebius' quotations of Diodorus do not agree with a specific manuscript tradition. At one time Eusebius follows the tradition of C (Vaticanus 130 of the twelfth century) and at another time that of D (Vindobonensis 79 of the eleventh to thirteenth century). According to the more recent conception of the relationship between ancient and medieval manuscripts, Eusebius' text of Diodorus, in agreeing by turns with the two main families of medieval manuscripts, in reality is connected to neither. Examples of such discontinuity between Eusebius' text and the medieval MS tradition could, no doubt, be multiplied.<sup>41</sup> Moreover, in some cases, as, for example,

<sup>37</sup> E. R. Dodds, *Plato, Gorgias: a Revised Text with Introduction and Commentary* (Oxford, 1959), pp. 64–65.

<sup>38</sup> E. R. Dodds, *Gorgias*, pp. 45–47; pp. 56–58: the papyri of the first and second centuries often agree with the readings of F.

<sup>39</sup> For example, E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri* (Oxford, 1980), p. 93, referring to the scholarly practice of Strabo and Galen, and pp. 124–125. M. W. Haslam, "Apollonius Rhodius and the Papyri," *Illinois Classical Studies* 3 (1978), pp. 68–73, also emphasizes the likelihood that collations of different ancient manuscripts were made at numerous times, thus providing for much contamination of ancient manuscripts, only a few of which will have survived into the medieval period.

<sup>40</sup> I. A. Heikel, *De Praeparationis Evangelicae Eusebii edendae ratione quaestiones* (Helsingfors, 1888), pp. 56–59.

<sup>41</sup> For example, P. Thillet, ed., *Alexandre d'Aphrodise, Traité du Destin* (Paris, 1984),



that of Tatian's *Oratio ad Graecos*, Eusebius' text can hardly be checked against the extant text. The modern text of Tatian derives from a single, corrupt manuscript, and so the received tradition must rather be corrected against Eusebius.<sup>42</sup>

Comparison of Eusebius' text and the manuscript tradition is not, then, a dependable method for establishing whether Eusebius used a text directly or at second hand, and I have accordingly decided not to pursue the considerable task of comparing Eusebius' quotations with extant critical texts. Certainly, comparison can help to establish whether Eusebius' text was interpolated, but questions naturally arise about whether such interpolations ought to be attributed to scribes prior to Eusebius, to Eusebius himself, or to later scribes.<sup>43</sup> The concern of the present study is not to examine all of the variations between the texts quoted by Eusebius and the extant texts. In order to establish whether Eusebius knew his texts firsthand or through intermediaries, I have had to rely on an examination of Eusebius' use of sources, at what length he quotes them, what passages he cites, how he could have obtained the works, and what sort of intermediaries would have been available to him.

It may be useful at this point to summarize what is generally known of the ancient method of composition.<sup>44</sup> It was common for an ancient author to take notes on the sources he read (or had read to him); the passages so noted were then excerpted, ordinarily by secretaries (*notarii*), and then arranged by subject or author into *commentarii* (ὑπομνήματα), which served as the basis for the composition of the literary work. Pliny the Younger, for example, relates the famous description of how his uncle, the encyclopedist, managed to

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p. cxxxi: "La tradition représentée, indirectement, par ces extraits d'Eusèbe, ne paraît pas avoir eu d'influence sur la tradition manuscrite du *De fato*."

<sup>42</sup> M. Marcovich, ed., *Tatiani Oratio ad Graecos*, PTS 43 (Berlin, 1995), pp. 3–5.

<sup>43</sup> J. Mansfeld and D. T. Runia, *Aetiana: the Method and Intellectual Context of a Doxographer*, *Philosophia Antiqua* 73 (Leiden, 1997), pp. 130–141, for example, explain very precisely how Eusebius understood and modified the *Placita* of Ps.-Plutarch, but they must admit the possibility that Eusebius used a text different from that transmitted in the manuscript tradition (p. 138).

<sup>44</sup> See especially T. Dorandi, *Le stilet et la tablette: dans le secret des auteurs antiques* (Paris: Belles Lettres, 2000); also the same author's "Den Autoren über die Schulter geschaut. Arbeitsweise und Autographie bei den antiken Schriftstellern," *ZPE* 87 (1991), pp. 11–33; and the older survey of J. Mejer, *Diogenes Laertius and His Hellenistic Background*, *Hermes Einzelschriften* 40 (Wiesbaden, 1978), pp. 16–29, which is itself based on F. Münzer, *Beiträge zu Quellenkritik der Naturgeschichte des Plinius* (Berlin, 1897) and J. E. Skjoldsgaard, *Varro the Scholar* (Copenhagen, 1968).



be so prolific. Pliny the Elder read constantly, and, when “he read a book, he used to take notes and make excerpts, for he read nothing that he would not excerpt.”<sup>45</sup> To aid in this process, he kept at his side a secretary with book and notebooks (*ad latus notarius cum libro et pugillaribus*). The most recent analysis of Pliny the Elder’s method of writing envisions him reading (or being read) his sources, making notations (*adnotationes*) on those sources, possibly with a system of subject key-words, having *notarii* excerpt the marked passages onto notebooks (*pugillares*), having those excerpts further organized by subject and then copied onto papyrus rolls, to which Pliny added more of his own notes (the eventual *commentarii*), and only then attempting to compose.<sup>46</sup> But, of course, not every author works in the same manner and with the same kind of subject. Aulus Gellius, for example, neglected to organize his notes and excerpts before he composed the essays (what he calls *commentarii*) that formed in haphazard order, *ordine rerum fortuito*, the *Attic Nights*.<sup>47</sup> In the case of Eusebius, it is not known what kind of resources he had at his disposal, especially the number and kind of scribes he had. As was noted in Chapter I, it is unclear whether the library at Caesarea had a scriptorium. But, Jerome reports that Pamphilus, at least, copied manuscripts *sua manu*, and it is possible that Eusebius occasionally did likewise.<sup>48</sup> So, one cannot say whether, when Eusebius began his own works, he used dictation and scribes, composed in his own hand, or combined the two practices.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Pliny, *Ep.* 3.5.10: *liber legebatur, adnotabat excerpebatque. Nihil enim legit quod non exciperet.*

<sup>46</sup> T. Dorandi, *Stylet*, pp. 29–39, with discussion of earlier scholarly views.

<sup>47</sup> Aulus Gellius, *Noc. Att.* praef. 2–3: *Usi autem sumus ordine rerum fortuito, quem antea in excerpendo feceramus. Nam proinde ut librum quemque in manus ceperam . . . indistincte atque promisce annotabam eaque mihi ad subsidium memoriae. . . . Facta igitur est in his commentariis eadem rerum disparilitas quae fuit in illis annotationibus pristinis. . . .* (“We have used a haphazard order, which we had made before in our excerpts. For, whenever I had taken a book in hand . . . I would note indiscriminately and without order those things that would help my memory. . . . The same dissimilarity of things as was in my original notes is also in my essays. . . .”) See T. Dorandi, *Stylet*, p. 42.

<sup>48</sup> Jerome, *De viris ill.* 75: *Pamphilus . . . maximam partem Origenis voluminum sua manu descripserit.* The subscriptions discussed in Chapter I generally show Eusebius and Pamphilus correcting, collating, or adding scholia to manuscripts. T. Dorandi, *Stylet*, pp. 51–75, devotes a chapter to the question of whether ancient writers ever composed literary works in their own hands; he concludes that the practice was not widespread.

<sup>49</sup> T. Dorandi, *Stylet*, p. 71, notes that the choice between autograph composition and dictation will, for every author, depend on circumstance. He points to

What is most common to ancient authors, however, is that excerpts from sources that had been read provided the basis for finished literary composition.<sup>50</sup> Excerpts might be arranged according to author or according to subject, but, however they were arranged, use of them entailed several consequences: the excerpts themselves were naturally out of context; a scholar who began to use his excerpts often then drew further examples from his source; and a scholar would, as he read more, and earlier, works, gradually excerpt fewer passages, so that even when it is plain that an ancient writer used a particular source through an intermediary, there is no proof that the writer did not actually read the original source.<sup>51</sup>

While these methodological principles are hypothetical and derive from the practices of authors who wrote much earlier than Eusebius, they may help to show how Eusebius, in excerpting his readings and arranging his materials, likely approached composition as had other scholars before him. It will now be useful to discuss some of the special characteristics of three of Eusebius' main works under consideration.

### *Chronicon*

The *Chronicon* consists of two parts: the *Chronographia* surveys the histories of the various ancient nations (Chaldaeans, Assyrians, Hebrews, Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans), while the *Chronici canones* present the chronology of these nations in tabular form. In the *Chronographia*, Eusebius provides numerous extracts from historical works, and these extracts are intended to serve as the evidence of the chronology then drawn up in the canons. In addition, these extracts are evidence of Eusebius' personal research, for the extracts in the *Chronographia* are

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Jerome as an example of one author who used both autograph composition and dictation, but in his case at different stages of his life.

<sup>50</sup> There are numerous witnesses to the ancient practice of excerpting sources. See, for example, Plutarch, *De tranq. an.* 464F–465A: ἀναλεξάμην περὶ εὐθυμίας ἐκ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων ὧν ἐμαντῶ πεποιημένος ἐτύγχανον ("I selected from the excerpts on tranquility that I had made for myself. . ."); Athenaeus, *Deipn.* VIII.336d, relates how a man read more than 800 plays of Middle Comedy, τούτων ἐκλογὰς ποιησάμενος. T. Dorandi, *Styler*, pp. 45–50, approves of the Toura papyrus (dated to the beginning of the seventh century and containing extracts from Origen's *Contra Celsum*) as an example of a collection of excerpts and P. Herc. 1021 from Herculaneum (Philodemus on the history of the Academy) on the recto as an example of an organization of such excerpts, with added notes and extracts on the verso.

<sup>51</sup> These conculsions are summarized by J. Mejer, *Diogenes Laertius*, pp. 18–19.

likely to be the same excerpts that Eusebius compiled as he read the histories he knew would help establish a correct chronology of the world.

Twice in the surviving text Eusebius lists his sources. At the beginning of the section on Hebrew history Eusebius lists Scripture, Africanus, and Josephus as his primary sources (Schoene I.71; p. 34 Karst). At the end of the section on Greek history Eusebius lists his sources for Greek and Oriental history: Alexander Polyhistor, Abydenus, Manetho, Cephalion, Diodorus, Cassius Longinus, Phlegon, Castor, Thallus, and Porphyry (Schoene I.263–265; p. 125 Karst). The extant text breaks off before Eusebius can list his sources for Roman history.

The individual authors named in these passages are discussed elsewhere in this book, so it will be sufficient to state the general problems with these lists. Because Eusebius does not quote from all of the authors he lists (notably Phlegon and Thallus), some have thought that Eusebius must name sources that he knows only through intermediaries. But this idea that Eusebius exploited intermediaries can easily be exaggerated. As was noted above, according to scholarly hypothesis about the ancient practice of excerpting, even when a writer used sources through intermediaries, he may have known them directly, as well.<sup>52</sup> In Eusebius' case, for example, Africanus was indeed a source from which Eusebius drew material from Josephus and the book of Maccabees.<sup>53</sup> Yet, the evidence of Eusebius' other works demonstrates that Eusebius knew both the works of Josephus and the book of Maccabees directly. Again, before the existence of Porphyry's *Chronicle* was disproved,<sup>54</sup> it was possible for A. A. Mosshammer to attribute the list of Olympic victors, which he thought was actually compiled by Cassius Longinus, to Porphyry's work. But Eusebius' industry need not be doubted: if the list came to Eusebius through Longinus' chronicle in eighteen books, it is quite conceivable that Eusebius worked his way through the entire work.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> J. Mejer, *Diogenes Laertius*, pp. 18–19. Mejer cites (by way of Skydsgaard) the example of Pliny, who used Theophrastus both directly and indirectly.

<sup>53</sup> A. A. Mosshammer, *The Chronicle of Eusebius and Greek Chronographic Tradition* (Lewistown, PA, 1979), p. 134.

<sup>54</sup> B. Croke, "Porphyry's Anti-Christian Chronology," *JTS* 34 (1983), pp. 168–185; T. D. Barnes, "Scholarship or Propaganda? Porphyry *Against the Christians* and Its Historical Setting," *BICS* 39 (1994), pp. 55–57.

<sup>55</sup> A. A. Mosshammer, *Chronicle*, pp. 143–146 on the theory that Porphyry was Eusebius' source for Longinus; and see p. 145: "It is difficult to imagine that

Furthermore, Eusebius seems to err rather by omission of works he used, for he does not include Clement of Alexandria among his sources for Hebrew history, even though he quotes from his *Stromateis* by name (Schoene I.121; p. 57 Karst). Now, it is possible that Eusebius' lists of sources have been affected by the demands of apologetic, that is, that Eusebius purposely includes pagan sources in his lists but omits Christian ones. But Eusebius is unafraid to name Africanus in his list of sources, and he is unafraid to name Clement when he quotes from him in the text. So, even if this charge were true, what is emphasized in this study is the simple possibility that Eusebius did know firsthand the authors he names.

### *Praeparatio Evangelica*

Eusebius' most thoroughly apologetic work, the *PE*, furnishes perhaps the least secure evidence of firsthand usage of sources. As a result, some scholars simply assume that Eusebius must have used florilegia.<sup>56</sup> But, while the fact that Eusebius occasionally excerpts texts from intermediaries cannot be denied, Eusebius' practice seems generally to have been to quote his texts firsthand.

We may begin by examining the passages in which Eusebius produces quotations as if firsthand that in reality come from intermediaries. First, all of Eusebius' quotations of the Presocratics probably come from intermediaries. One of these intermediaries, Aristocles, can be identified by examination of Eusebius' text, and it is plain in this case that Eusebius was not attempting to conceal his use of Aristocles.<sup>57</sup> In addition, Clement of Alexandria probably supplied a fragment of Democritus in *PE* X, but Eusebius relies on Clement elsewhere in this book. Second, at *PE* VIII.9.1–37 Eusebius ostensibly quotes Eleazer, though the passage is actually taken from Aristeeas' *Epistula ad Philocratem*, in which Eleazer appears. Eusebius, again, hardly endeavored to conceal his true source, since in his introduction to the extract (*PE* VIII.8.56–57) Eusebius notes that Eleazer was

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Eusebius, in collecting the data for the chronographic fundamentals of the first book, leafed through 18 books of an Olympiad chronicle in order to extract a list of stadion victors."

<sup>56</sup> For example, G. Bardy, *SC* #73 (Paris, 1960), p. 38, supposes that Eusebius used florilegia; cf. also p. 114, note 1. R. Blum, "Die Literaturverzeichnis," *AGB* (1983), col. 88, note 36, speaks of Eusebius' use of *Kompendien*.

<sup>57</sup> See my "Some Uses of Aristocles and Numenius in Eusebius' *Praeparatio Evangelica*," *JTS* 47 (1996), pp. 543–549.

earlier adduced as evidence, a clear reference to quotations of Aristeeas at *PE* VIII.2–5. Third, a series of quotations in *PE* IX all derive from Josephus' *Contra Apionem*, although Eusebius attributes these extracts to Hecataeus of Abdera (IX.4.2–9), Clearchus (IX.5.1–7), and Choerilus of Samos (IX.9.1–2), respectively. In this case Eusebius may justifiably be accused of feigning firsthand usage, perhaps because he wished to emphasize that his information came from Greek sources (for he explains at the beginning of *PE* IX that he intends for the Greeks to bear witness to the truth of Hebrew historical accounts). Nevertheless, one may point out that this apologetic desire to put Greek sources forward does not overwhelm Eusebius elsewhere in the same book: at *PE* IX.6 Eusebius names Clement of Alexandria as his source for the continuation of Clearchus' story in the preceding chapter.

The foregoing examples must be balanced against other examples of how Eusebius cited his authorities. For example, at *PE* I.9.12 Eusebius names his source as Porphyry, though he also notes that Porphyry's own source is Theophrastus. Thus, Eusebius does not claim to be quoting Theophrastus firsthand. At *PE* IV.12 Eusebius introduces a quotation of Apollonius of Tyana, though Eusebius probably found this passage in Porphyry. But, Eusebius does not, in fact, attribute the passage explicitly to Apollonius, for he introduces it obliquely with the words "Apollonius of Tyana is said to have written these things." Eusebius gives at least a clue that he is not using the author he cites firsthand.

In the case of Alexander Polyhistor, whose *On the Jews* is mined in *PE* IX, Eusebius consistently names Alexander as his source, even though Polyhistor provides extracts from other Jewish authors (Eupolemus, Artapanus, Molon, et al.). Eusebius thus rejects the opportunity to seem to quote these other authors firsthand. Polyhistor was obviously a compiler, and so to some extent Eusebius' use of his work proves that Eusebius relied on intermediaries. Such use of intermediaries is not under dispute here: after all, Eusebius used an epitome of philosophy by Arius Didymus, and his use of Ps.-Plutarch's *Placita* is evidence that he used doxographies. J. Freudenthal would add to this list of compilations the works of Josephus, Clement of Alexandria, and Porphyry.<sup>58</sup> But these works are important in themselves, and Eusebius used them directly.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>58</sup> J. Freudenthal, *Alexander Polyhistor und die von ihm erhaltenen Reste jüdischer und samaritanischer Geschichtswerke*, Hellenistische Studien 1–2 (Breslau, 1875), p. 7.

<sup>59</sup> Hence, when G. E. Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition: Josephos, Luke-Acts*,

The idea that Eusebius relied extensively on intermediaries, however, ought not to be accepted uncritically, and Eusebius' use of each author must be examined in turn. Examination of Eusebius' use of Plato, for example, indicates that, while an anthology of Plato's writings cannot be ruled out, and while the use of some passages in Plato's works by other pagan and Christian authors will naturally have prompted Eusebius to include certain texts in his work, Eusebius is likely to have turned to the original texts of Plato that he could find in his library (see *infra* on Plato). To take another example, Eusebius' recourse to the original text is also evident when Eusebius' use of Abydenus in the *Chronicon* is compared with that in the *PE*. When Eusebius employed Abydenus for information about the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar at *PE* IX.41, it is apparent that Eusebius did not simply turn to his earlier use of Abydenus in the *Chronographia* (Schoene I.37–43), since the extracts in the *PE* are more extensive: so, for example, *PE* IX.41.3 is absent from the *Chronographia*. The most likely explanation is that in the *PE* Eusebius consulted Abydenus' work anew.

In the preface to *PE* XV (and cf. *PE* I.6.5) Eusebius gives an outline of his argument, an argument that he must have formulated in advance of composition as a guide either in collecting material or in arranging material that had already been read and excerpted. To be sure, Eusebius used intermediaries, even anthologies for some material like poetry, but Eusebius' method in his other works was to read original texts and gather material, a practice that he is likely to have followed when he composed the *PE*.

### *Historia Ecclesiastica*

One of Eusebius' purposes in the *HE* was to record those ὅσοι τε κατὰ γενεὰν ἐκάστην ἀγράφως ἢ καὶ διὰ συγγραμμάτων τὸν θεῖον ἐπρέσβευσαν, λόγον "who in each generation were ambassadors of the divine word either in speech or in writings" (*HE* I.1.1). Consequently, the *HE* contains much valuable information on numerous early Christian authors. Some of this information comes in the form of excerpts

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and *Apologetic Historiography*, Suppl. to *Novum Testamentum* 64 (Leiden, 1992), p. 143, cautions against "the conclusion that Eusebius knew all of the sources he cited firsthand" and, citing Freudenthal, states that Eusebius "tended to rely upon more recent compilers rather than the original authors," he confuses the distinction between Eusebius' citing of a source firsthand and the nature of the source (compilation or not).

from lost writings, and some of it simply comes in the form of titles of works otherwise unknown. Eusebius certainly did research outside Caesarea, for he once indicates that he used the library at Jerusalem (*HE* VI.20.1; see further below), but his own library at Caesarea must have served as the primary resource from which Eusebius could draw information about the Church's ambassadors in writing.

Because Eusebius' primary resource was the library at Caesarea, his notices of the works of individual writers were largely based upon what Eusebius found within his library. That is, Eusebius generally recorded what was available to him firsthand. Although Chesnut goes too far when he hypothesizes that the *HE* initially began as a "librarian's research aid," he certainly understands how Eusebius' work developed from the resources of the library at Caesarea and how it thus provides a key to the contents of the ecclesiastical works in that library.<sup>60</sup> In addition, Eusebius reports that he included in his *Vita Pamphili* the lists (πίνακες) of the works by Origen and other ecclesiastical authors that Pamphilus had collected for the library at Caesarea.<sup>61</sup> While the exact nature of these πίνακες is not known, it is likely that Pamphilus not only listed titles but also included information about the various authors of the works.<sup>62</sup> Sometimes there may have been no biographical information about the authors, as was perhaps the case with the authors Eusebius discusses at *HE* V.27. Nevertheless, these lists will have furnished Eusebius with guidance in the composition of his *HE*. Eusebius must have often then read through, or at the least thumbed through, the works of the authors he names.<sup>63</sup> Later in his life, Eusebius claimed, "Of men more ancient

<sup>60</sup> G. F. Chesnut, *The First Christian Histories: Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, and Evagrius*, Second edition, revised (Macon, GA, 1986), p. 120.

<sup>61</sup> *HE* VI.32.3: . . . τῆς συναχθείσης αὐτῷ τῶν τε Ὀριγένους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐκκλησιαστικῶν συγγραφέων βιβλιοθήκης τοὺς πίνακας παρεθέμην. . . . ("I quoted as evidence the lists in the library that he had brought together of the works of Origen and of other ecclesiastical writers" [trans. Oulton].) While Eusebius credits Pamphilus with collecting books, it is unclear from this passage whether Eusebius drew up the lists of the contents himself or whether he used lists already compiled by Pamphilus. Jerome, *Ep.* 34.2, indicates that Pamphilus prepared this *index*.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. R. Blum, "Literaturverzeichnis," *AGB* (1983), cols. 90–94. Blum conjectures that the index of the library's contents was arranged chronologically according to author and included biographical data.

<sup>63</sup> It may be worth noting by comparison that, in his examination of *The Library of Lactantius* (Oxford, 1978), R. M. Ogilvie concludes about Eusebius' Western contemporary: "His method of quotation shows that, although he is sometimes content to paraphrase from memory or elsewhere, he often turned to actual texts from which he copied out substantial passages" (p. 4).

than Origen I have read as many ecclesiastical works as possible, and of both bishops and synods I have read various letters written long ago, through which is shown the one and the same character of the faith."<sup>64</sup> Even though it was made in the heat of polemic, it is a credible claim.

While authors who, to Eusebius' knowledge, composed only one or two works often received brief notices, for those writers who composed many works, Eusebius could often provide rather lengthy catalogues from what was at hand in his library. Among such catalogues are those of Irenaeus, Justin Martyr, Philo, Clement of Alexandria, Hippolytus, Julius Africanus, Dionysius of Alexandria, Anatolius of Laodicea, Serapion of Antioch, Theophilus of Antioch, Dionysius of Corinth, Melito of Sardis, and Apollinarius of Hierapolis. Even in these catalogues Eusebius occasionally recognized that the works he knew—the works in the library at Caesarea—represented only a portion of the authors' "published" works. For example, in the catalogue of Hippolytus' works (*HE* VI.22) Eusebius is careful to list what works have been transmitted to him, though he acknowledges that other people possess some other works by Hippolytus. Likewise, in the catalogue of Serapion of Antioch's works (*HE* VI.12) Eusebius reports only those works (μόνα) that have reached him, though other works exist. Eusebius did the same in the catalogues of the works of Apollinarius of Hierapolis and of Anatolius of Laodicea.

In the case of three particularly prolific authors, Philo, Origen, and Dionysius of Alexandria, Eusebius may actually be accused of providing incomplete catalogues. But, the number of works missing from Philo's catalogue and from Dionysius' catalogue is comparatively small in such a long list, and Origen's works were catalogued more fully in another of Eusebius' works, the *Vita Pamphili*. Methodius of Olympus may be considered a rather exceptional case, since he seems to have been excluded from the *HE* because of his criticism of some of Origen's ideas.

But in his attempt to give a full view of the Church's ambassadors

<sup>64</sup> *Contra Marcellum* I.4.8: ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ Ὀριγένους παλαιότερων ἀνδρῶν πλείστοις ὅσοις ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς συγγράμμασιν ἐντετύχηκα, ἐπισκόπων τε καὶ συνόδων ἐπιστολαῖς διαφόροις πρόπαλαι γραφεύσαις, δι' ὧν εἰς καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς ὁ τῆς πίστεως χαρακτὴρ ἀποδείκνυται. The passage is cited by R. M. Grant, "Papias in Eusebius' Church History," *Mélanges Puech* (Paris, 1974), p. 212, who found it in A. Harnack, *Geschichte der altchr. Lit.* (Leipzig, 1893), I.560–561.



in writing, Eusebius did occasionally include more in his catalogues than he actually knew firsthand. In the catalogue of Tatian's works (*HE* IV.29.6–7) Eusebius records the existence of the *Diatessaron* and a work paraphrasing the words of St. Paul. The *Diatessaron* was probably included because of its fame, the paraphrase of St. Paul because of its boldness; both were simply too well known to be neglected. Eusebius probably referred to the *Apology* of Aristides at *HE* IV.3.3 because it was such an early example of the genre, a parallel to Quadratus' *Apology*. Ammonius' *Harmony of Moses and Jesus* is named at *HE* VI.19.10 in order to demonstrate that Origen's teacher was throughout his life a Christian, and not because of Ammonius' repute in the Church. Of course, it must be remembered that Eusebius did intend to list the works of prominent churchmen, and at least one report of works that were probably not in Eusebius' possession can be explained in this way. The catalogue of Miltiades' works (*HE* V.17) was easily included in the *HE* because it was available in the Anonymous Anti-Montanist's work, which Eusebius was using at the time.

It is, however, rather the exceptional case, and not standard practice, for Eusebius to name a work he does not possess. There are, in fact, examples of Eusebius' omitting from his catalogues works that he knew existed but did not possess. Tatian's *Problemata*, known from Rhodon (*HE* V.13.8), is absent from the catalogue of Tatian's works (*HE* IV.29.6–7), and Justin Martyr's *Adversus Marcionem*, known from a reference in Irenaeus (*HE* IV.11.8; 18.9) is not included in the catalogue of Justin's works at *HE* IV.18.1–6. In general, Eusebius' catalogues are reliable indications of what Eusebius had available to him at Caesarea.

A conspectus is presented below of the vocabulary Eusebius uses in his notices of authors and the catalogues of their writings. While Eusebius' terminology may not adhere to any strict laws, it shows coherence and even consistency. Almost all works and authors treated in the *HE* appear in the conspectus, but for some (Bardesanes, Ariston of Pella, Ignatius of Antioch, and Judas, all of whose works Eusebius possessed; and Pinytus of Gortyn and Modestus, whose works Eusebius probably did not possess), no special terminology was used by Eusebius. Four basic categories emerge. In the first, some form of the word ἐλθεῖν is used, always with either εἰς ἡμᾶς or εἰς ἡμετέραν γνῶσιν, with the general meaning "to reach us," or, that is, "to come into our [Eusebius'] possession." In the second, a form of the word

φέρεισθαι is used, with the meaning "to be extant." In the third, a form of the word σώζεσθαι is used, with the meaning "to be preserved." In the fourth, a form of καταλιπεῖν is used, with the meaning "to have left behind." Eusebius possessed all of the works that fall into the first category. Eusebius seems to have possessed all of the works that fall into the second category except Tatian's *Diatessaron*. By contrast, the remaining two categories are more ambiguous. Eusebius sometimes strengthened his language by adding ἡμῖν, thereby giving more secure evidence of his possession of certain works. Nevertheless, some of the works that fall into these categories (but without the ἡμῖν) were not in Eusebius' possession, namely, Aristides in the third category and Miltiades and, possibly, Ammonius in the fourth.

ἐλθεῖν	φέρεισθαι	σώζεσθαι	καταλιπεῖν
Acts of Thaddeus (I.12.3, εἰς ἡμῶς)	Anon. against Artemon (V.28.1)	Alexander of Jerusalem (VI.11.3, παρ' ἡμῖν)	Ammonius (VI.19.10, παρὰ τοῖς φιλοκάλοις)
Agrippa Castor (IV.7.6, εἰς ἡμῶς)	Beryllus: Synodal Acts (VI.33.3)	Aristides (IV.3.3, παρὰ πλείστοις)	Anatolius of Laodicea (VII.32.20)
Anatolius of Laodicea (VII.32.13, εἰς ἡμῶς)	Dionysius of Alexandria, Novatianist Letters (VI.46.2; 46.5)	Clement of Alexandria (VI.13.1, παρ' ἡμῖν)	Anon. Anti-Montanist (V.16.1, ἡμῖν)
Apollinarius of Hierapolis (IV.27.1, εἰς ἡμῶς)	Dionysius of Alexandria, Baptismal Letters (VII.9.6)	Letters in Library at Jerusalem (VI.20.1)	Aristides (IV.3.3)
Roman Novatianist Dossier (VI.43.3, εἰς ἡμῶς)	Beryllus of Bostra (VI.20.2)	Theophilus of Antioch (IV.24)	Dionysius of Alexandria (VII.26.3, ἡμῖν)
Gaius (VI.20.3, εἰς ἡμῶς)	Festal Letters (VII.20.1 and 22.11)	Various Authors at <i>HE</i> V.27	Miltiades (V.17.5, μνήμας ἡμῖν)
Hegesippus (IV.22.1, εἰς ἡμῶς)	Dionysius of Alexandria, Letters on Sabellianism (VII.26.1)		Tatian (IV.29.7)
Hippolytus (VI.22, εἰς ἡμῶς)	Dionysius of Corinth (IV.23.4; 23.9; 23.13)		

Table (*cont.*)

ἐλθεῖν	φέρεισθαι	σφύζεσθαι	καταλιπεῖν
Irenaeus (V.26, εἰς ἡμετέρων γνώσιν)	Gaius (III.28.1) Gallienus (rescript unquoted, VII.13)		
Africanus (VI.31.2, εἰς ἡμᾶς)	Africanus (VI.31.1; 31.3)		
Justin Martyr (IV.18.1, εἰς ἡμετέρων γνώσιν)	Irenaeus (V.26) Musanus (IV.28) Origen (VI.36.3) Papias (III.39.1)		
Melito of Sardis and Apollinarius (IV.26.1, εἰς ἡμετέρων γνώσιν ἀφίκται)	Dossier on Paschal Controversy (V.23.3) Paul of Samosata, Debate with Malchion (VII.29.2)		
Origen (VI.24.1–2; 32.1, all εἰς ἡμᾶς) (Cf. VI.36.2, εὔρομεν)	Philo (II.18.6) Polycarp (III.36.13; IV.14.9)		
Orthodoxy of Writers at <i>HE</i> IV.21 (εἰς ἡμᾶς)	Polycarp's Martyrdom (= Letter of Smyrnaeans)		
Philo (II.18.5, εἰς ἡμᾶς)	(IV.15.1)		
Anon. Scriptural Interpreters (V.27, εἰς ἡμᾶς)	Acts of Carpus, Papyrus, Agathonice (IV.15.48)		
Serapion of Antioch (VI.12.1, εἰς ἡμᾶς)	Quadratus (IV.3.2) Rhodon (V.13.8) Symmachus (VI.17) Tatian, Diatessaron (IV.29.6, παρά τισιν) Theophilus of Antioch (IV.24)		

It may be of some additional interest that Eusebius twice employs this terminology in the *VC*. At *VC* IV.8 Eusebius introduces Constantine's letter to Sapor with the words φέρεται . . . παρ' αὐτοῖς ἡμῖν, "there is extant among us." At *VC* II.23.3 Eusebius introduces the quotation of "an authentic imperial law preserved among us," ἐξ αὐθεντικοῦ τοῦ παρ' ἡμῖν φυλαττομένου βασιλικοῦ νόμου, Constantine's letter to the provincials of Palestine, a text that is also partially preserved on P. Lond. 878.

An idea that has been put forward by R. M. Grant now deserves attention. Grant seems to assert that Eusebius at least twice in the *HE* utilized pre-existing dossiers of material. Upon investigation, however, the existence of such dossiers must be denied.

*An Anti-heretical, Anti-Marcionite Collection?*<sup>65</sup> In his general analysis of Eusebius' sources in the *HE*, Grant asserts: "Certainly there was a collection of authors anti-heretical and chiefly anti-Marcionite; Eusebius made use of it in IV.21–9."<sup>65</sup> If by "collection" Grant means a compilation of selected works by Hegesippus, Dionysius of Corinth, Theophilus of Antioch, Philip of Gortyn, Irenaeus, Modestus, Melito of Sardis, Apollinarius of Hierapolis, Musanus, and Tatian that was developed anterior to Eusebius, then his view must be rejected. Eusebius did not utilize an already-existing collection, florilegium, or dossier for *HE* IV.21–29. To clarify how Eusebius did compose these chapters, it will be necessary to review the structure of IV.21ff. (cf. *infra* the section on these chapters).

Eusebius uses IV.21 to introduce a number of orthodox ecclesiastical writers who flourished in the reign of Marcus Aurelius. The organizational principle, then, is both theological and chronological. For this reason, the chapters that ought to be considered as a unit in *HE* IV are chapters 21 through 28. Chapter 29 on Tatian must be excluded from this grouping because Tatian's orthodoxy is manifestly suspect, and in the governing chapter of this section, IV.21, Eusebius specifies that he has written evidence that the authors he names are orthodox.

*HE* IV.21 thus stands as an outline of authors whom Eusebius will describe in the succeeding chapters (IV.22–28), with his primary attention on the works produced by these writers. The order itself

<sup>65</sup> R. M. Grant, *Eusebius as Church Historian* (Oxford, 1980), p. 43.

may be loose, since Eusebius probably did not know the precise chronological order of these authors.<sup>66</sup> The order is not, however, dictated by the fact that all of the writers are anti-heretical, particularly anti-Marcionite. To be sure, most of the writers composed works against heretics (although it is unclear whether, for example, Hegesippus or Melito falls into this category), but this is a characteristic of the age in the Church. And Theophilus is reported to have written a treatise against Marcion, which Eusebius likely possessed (*HE* IV.24). But, in the next chapter (*HE* IV.25) Eusebius simply adds that Philip of Gortyn, Irenaeus, and Modestus also composed attacks on Marcion because this subject was introduced by the listing of Theophilus' similar treatise. Of all of the works recorded in IV.22–28, Eusebius is least likely to have possessed copies of those anti-Marcionite works listed at IV.25. The other writers surveyed by Eusebius do not seem to have written works against Marcion.<sup>67</sup>

When he composed IV.21–28, Eusebius drew up a list of orthodox writers who could be placed approximately in the reign of Marcus Aurelius. Eusebius either knew the works of these writers directly from what was contained in the library at Caesarea (Hegesippus, Dionysius of Corinth, Theophilus, Melito, Apollinarius, and Musanus), or he knew of their works from the statements of other writers (IV.25: Philip of Gortyn, Irenaeus' work against Marcion, and Modestus). Using his list as a guide, Eusebius proceeded to give catalogues of the works of each writer. His catalogues are naturally more detailed for those writers whose works he knew firsthand.

*An Anti-Montanist Dossier?* In this same discussion of Eusebius' use of "earlier collections," Grant writes that "there are also records of synods in regard to Montanists (at any rate, a dossier, V.16–19)."<sup>68</sup> Later, Grant adds: "We do not know how he [Eusebius] knew that Montanism began about 170. Perhaps he found the information in an anti-Montanist dossier in the church library" (p. 84). But, Grant offers no evidence that Eusebius used a dossier of material compiled by someone before him. Instead, it seems more likely that Eusebius

<sup>66</sup> For example, in the *Chronicon* (p. 206 Helm) Eusebius dates Melito and Apollinarius to the year 170 and Dionysius to the year 171, but in the *HE* Eusebius describes the works of Dionysius before those of Melito and Apollinarius.

<sup>67</sup> But cf. P. Nautin's reconstruction of the letters of Dionysius of Corinth (in *Lettres et écrivains chrétiens*, pp. 13–32).

<sup>68</sup> R. M. Grant, *Eusebius as a Church Historian*, p. 43.

himself put together the material of *HE* V.16–19 from his own use of the texts available to him at Caesarea. As is suggested in Chapter VII (in the entries on these authors), Eusebius apparently used the Anonymous Anti-Montanist, Serapion of Antioch's *Epistula* to Caricus and Pontius, and Apollonius' treatise firsthand; there is no need to look beyond Eusebius' use of these works for an anterior dossier.

To be fair to Grant, however, it should be admitted that Eusebius, though he used works firsthand, did make use of dossiers in the sense that some works reached him in particular groups. So, for example, it is evident from what Eusebius says at *HE* IV.15.47–48 that he possessed a manuscript that included an account of the martyrdom of Polycarp, the passion of Pionius, and the acts of Carpus, Papyrus, and Agathonice (see *infra* on Polycarp). The letters of Dionysius of Alexandria must already have been gathered into collections of Festal letters and letters on the Baptismal Controversy, Sabellianism, and Novatianist Controversy (in this latter case there were two collections, one of letters by Dionysius and one of letters by Western churchmen). Dionysius of Corinth's "catholic" letters were probably collected together. H. J. Lawlor has already called attention to these collections, although his attempt to determine the number of papyrus rolls used in these collections employs too much speculation.<sup>69</sup>

There were still other collections assembled in ecclesiastical disputes: Eusebius possessed a dossier of letters issued by ecclesiastical synods during the Paschal Controversy in the late second century, and another dossier, including a letter from Dionysius of Alexandria, the synodal letter, and a record of the debate between Malchion and Paul, must have come from the deposition of Paul of Samosata. Another possible collection deserves to be noted, one Grant himself suspects,<sup>70</sup> for the Constantinian documents at *HE* X.5–7 may have come to Eusebius as a unit.

Finally, some reference ought to be made to the article of B. Gustafsson on "Eusebius' Principles in Handling His Sources, As Found in His Church History, Books I–VII."<sup>71</sup> Gustafsson attempts

<sup>69</sup> H. J. Lawlor, "On the Use by Eusebius of Volumes of Tracts," *Eusebiana: Essays on the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea* (Oxford, 1912), pp. 136–178.

<sup>70</sup> R. M. Grant, *Eusebius as Church Historian*, pp. 161–162.

<sup>71</sup> B. Gustafsson in *Studia Patristica* 4 (1961), TU 79, pp. 429–441.

to determine when Eusebius used primary sources in the *HE* and when he used secondary sources, and he recommends “a guarded attitude towards Eusebius’s quotations and abstracts when there is any reason to suppose that he got them from secondary sources, such as excerpts, anthologies of excerpts, or quotations or abstracts in other works.”<sup>72</sup> It is a reasonable enough recommendation in itself, but examination of Gustafsson’s evidence leads one to put aside his conclusions on this question.

Gustafsson correctly notes as secondary uses (that is, uses of intermediaries) (a) Eusebius’ reference to a rescript of Trajan (*HE* III.33.3, from Tertullian), (b) Hadrian’s rescript (*HE* IV.9, from Justin Martyr), and (c) Antoninus Pius’ rescript (*HE* IV.13, through a source unrecognized by Gustafsson, but probably Melito of Sardis). He seems to think Gallienus’ rescript (*HE* VII.13) an example of a primary source, although it probably came to Eusebius through one of Dionysius of Alexandria’s letters (see *infra*). Gustafsson is also wrong about Melito’s work on Easter (see *infra*), and his argument that at *HE* IV.16.7–9 Eusebius may not have been using Tatian’s *Oratio ad Graecos* firsthand is unpersuasive, especially since the evidence of *PE* X demonstrates that Eusebius possessed Tatian’s work.

Gustafsson also suggests that, if Eusebius does not specify the exact book from which he has drawn his quotation, he may not be using his source firsthand. His example of Papias is rejected below (*infra* on Papias), but the general principle may in any case be disputed: one cannot really expect that, when Eusebius takes a quotation firsthand from a source, he will consistently cite the specific book and work, but, when he takes a passage from an intermediary, he will not. For example, Eusebius owned Irenaeus’ *Adversus Haereses*, and yet Eusebius does not consistently name the books from which he draws his quotations (see further *infra* on Irenaeus). What, in any case, if Eusebius used an intermediary who cited the specific book

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<sup>72</sup> Gustafsson’s arguments on this question appear on pp. 429–435; the quotation appears on pp. 432–433. The remainder of his article, a determination of Eusebius’ principles for selecting materials (for example, the importance of the orthodoxy of Christian works and the importance of the universal esteem enjoyed by non-Christian works) remains valuable. Gustafsson is still cited with approval: for example, J. T. Fitzgerald, “Eusebius and *The Little Labyrinth*,” *The Early Church in Its Context*, A. J. Malherbe et al., edd., Suppl. to *Novum Testamentum* 90 (Leiden, 1998), p. 120, note 1; H. Y. Gamble, *Books and Readers*, p. 156, note 34 (on p. 301).

of the work? There can be no proof of direct or indirect acquaintance from this line of inquiry.<sup>73</sup>

In addition, Gustafsson casts doubt on Eusebius' manner of quoting by questioning whether one can ever be sure that Eusebius has quoted in direct speech. His example of a letter of Alexander of Jerusalem ought to be rejected (see below *infra* on Alexander), and his other example, the *Testimonium Flavianum*, is a particularly complicated passage the origin of which is unclear (see *infra* on Josephus).

*Appendix: The Phrase λόγος (κατ)έχει in the Historia Ecclesiastica*

Eusebius' use of the phrases λόγος ἔχει and λόγος κατέχει has been the subject of a modest amount of scholarly attention. Many scholars accept that a written source ordinarily lies behind the expression λόγος (κατ)έχει, but Eusebius sometimes seems to rely on oral tradition.<sup>74</sup> Because, however, modern scholars give various lists of Eusebius' use of the phrase, it seems useful to set out a new listing, including some closely related phrases, with a brief examination of Eusebius' possible sources.

(1) *HE* I.12.3 (κατέχει λόγος). In his discussion of the names of the seventy disciples Jesus sent out (Luke 10:1), Eusebius names Matthias, who was also Judas' replacement among the apostles (Acts 1:23–26). Lawlor cannot identify the source but is inclined to think it a written document.<sup>75</sup> Grant suggests Clement of Alexandria's *Hypotyposes*.<sup>76</sup> Popular tradition, or, that is, oral tradition, however, ought not to be excluded.

(2) *HE* II.1.13 (κατέχει λόγος). Eusebius relates the tradition that

<sup>73</sup> By comparison, C. Jacob, "Athenaeus the Librarian," *Athenaeus and His World: Reading Greek Culture in the Roman World*, D. Braund and J. Wilkins, edd. (Exeter, 2000), pp. 92–93, engages this same problem in Athenaeus. Jacob uses Athenaeus' quotations of Posidonius' *History* as an example and finds that, of Posidonius' fifty-two books, only four are named in the nineteen quotations, yet there is no proof that Athenaeus had not read more than just those four books, and "smaller quotations, without book number, do not necessarily prove an indirect source" (p. 93).

<sup>74</sup> Cf. H. J. Lawlor, *Eusebiana*, p. 21, citing J. B. Lightfoot with approval: the phrase λόγος κατέχει "is not confined to oral tradition, but may include contemporary written authorities, and implies authentic and trustworthy information." Cf. also M. M. Sage, "Eusebius and the Rain Miracle: Some Observations," *Historia* 26 (1987), p. 97; and K. Toyota, "The Authenticity of Eusebius' Sources: A Study of the Two Formulae in *Historia Ecclesiastica*," *Journal of Classical Studies* 39 (1991), pp. 92–101 (in Japanese but with a summary in English at pp. 165–166).

<sup>75</sup> H. J. Lawlor, *Eusebiana*, p. 22 and note 3.

<sup>76</sup> R. M. Grant, *Eusebius as Church Historian* (Oxford, 1980), p. 40, note 16.



the Ethiopian converted by Philip (Acts 8:26–40) was the first to preach the Gospel in Ethiopia. This information may be nothing more than Eusebius' extrapolation from the text of Acts.

(3) *HE* II.7.1 (κατέχει λόγος). Eusebius records the tradition that Pontius Pilate committed suicide. In the same chapter this same report is attributed to unnamed Olympiad chroniclers (cf. *Chronicon*, p. 178c Helm: *Scribunt Romanorum historici*). The source is unknown: possibly the story comes from the Olympiad chroniclers, but possibly Eusebius recollected no specific source.<sup>77</sup>

(4) *HE* II.17.1 (λόγος ἔχει). Eusebius reports a tradition that Philo met St. Peter in Rome. The source is unknown, though Runia has recently suggested Clement of Alexandria's *Hypotyposes*.<sup>78</sup>

(5) *HE* II.17.6 (λόγος φησίν). Eusebius here reproduces the substance of Acts 4: 34–35.

(6) *HE* II.17.19 (λόγος φησίν). Eusebius refers indirectly to the text he has been using throughout this chapter, *HE* II.17, Philo's *De vita contemplativa*.

(7) *HE* II.22.2 (λόγος ἔχει). Eusebius reports the tradition that, after his release from prison, St. Paul came a second time to Rome, where he suffered martyrdom. The source is not known. Bardy believes a written source such as Irenaeus or Gaius was used, while Grant again suggests Clement of Alexandria's *Hypotyposes*.<sup>79</sup> But it is more likely that Eusebius came to his own conclusion on the basis of Paul's correspondence, since he soon appeals to Paul's Second Letter to Timothy for support (II.22.2–6).<sup>80</sup>

(8) *HE* II.25.5 (ιστοροῦνται). The tradition that Peter and Paul were both martyred at Rome probably comes from Gaius, whom Eusebius adduces as evidence at II.25.7, although Dionysius of Corinth also provides evidence (II.25.8).

(9) *HE* III.11 (λόγος κατέχει). Lawlor is probably correct to make Hegesippus the source of this information about the Christian community after the death of James and the fall of Jerusalem.<sup>81</sup>

<sup>77</sup> Cf. my "Seven Unidentified Sources in Eusebius' *Historia Ecclesiastica*," *Nova Doctrina Vetusque*, D. Kries and C. B. Tkacz, edd. (New York, 1999), pp. 79–80.

<sup>78</sup> D. T. Runia, *Philo in Early Christian Literature: a Survey*, *Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum* 3 (Assen, 1993), p. 7.

<sup>79</sup> G. Bardy, *SC* #31 (Paris, 1952), p. 84 and note 6; R. M. Grant, *Eusebius as Church Historian*, p. 40, note 16.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. Lawlor and Oulton, II.73; M. M. Sage, "Rain Miracle," *Historia* (1987), p. 98.

<sup>81</sup> H. J. Lawlor, *Eusebiana*, p. 54; Lawlor and Oulton, II.84–85.

(10) *HE* III.18.1 (κατέχει λόγος). This passage on the exile of St. John to Patmos should also be attributed to Hegesippus.<sup>82</sup>

(11) *HE* III.19 (παλαιὸς κατέχει λόγος). Likewise, this passage on Domitian's attempt to destroy the descendants of David comes from Hegesippus.<sup>83</sup>

(12) *HE* III.20.9 (παραδίδωσι λόγος). Here, too, the notice of St. John's return to Ephesus comes from Hegesippus.<sup>84</sup>

(13) *HE* III.24.5 (κατέχει λόγος). The story that SS. Matthew and John wrote their Gospels out of necessity may simply be common tradition, since elsewhere in this chapter Eusebius uses the word φασί to relate information about St. John (III.24.7). Lawlor, however, maintains the possibility that Eusebius is, at least in the case of St. Matthew, referring to Papias (cf. III.39.16), Irenaeus (cf. V.8.2), or Origen (cf. VI.25.4).<sup>85</sup>

(14) *HE* III.32.1 (κατέχει λόγος). Eusebius records the occurrence of persecution under Trajan. Eusebius cites Hegesippus at III.32.2, Tertullian at III.33.3, and Ignatius of Antioch at III.36. Sage is probably correct to interpret Eusebius' use of κατέχει λόγος here as a generalization from multiple sources.<sup>86</sup>

(15) *HE* III.36.3 (λόγος ἔχει). Eusebius reports how Ignatius of Antioch was sent to Rome for martyrdom. The source must be Ignatius' own letters, which Eusebius uses in this chapter.

(16) *HE* III.37.1 (λόγος ἔχει). The Quadratus named here seems to be a conflation of the apologist of IV.3.2 and the prophet mentioned by the Anonymous Anti-Montanist at V.17.2. The phrase here must be Eusebius' own formula for his imperfect recollection of these two pieces of evidence.

(17) *HE* IV.5.1 (λόγος κατέχει). Eusebius parenthetically explains that he has been unable to find the dates of the bishops of Jerusalem in written form: according to tradition, the bishops all were short-lived. This report may owe something to local tradition (oral tradition) at Jerusalem, but Eusebius also makes clear in this passage that

<sup>82</sup> H. J. Lawlor, *Eusebiana*, p. 54; Lawlor and Oulton, II.90–92.

<sup>83</sup> H. J. Lawlor, *Eusebiana*, p. 54.

<sup>84</sup> H. J. Lawlor, *Eusebiana*, p. 54; Lawlor and Oulton, II.90–92.

<sup>85</sup> H. J. Lawlor, *Eusebiana*, p. 22, note 2. K. Toyota, "Authenticity," *JCS* (1991), p. 98, conjectures Papias.

<sup>86</sup> M. M. Sage, "Rain Miracle," *Historia* (1987), pp. 98–99; cf. Lawlor and Oulton, II.104, followed by K. Toyota, "Authenticity," *JCS* (1991), p. 98, who seem rather to think that the phrase refers to Hegesippus alone.

he is using some written documents (τοσοῦτον ἐξ ἐγγράφων παρείληφα) as evidence for his list of bishops who held office before the destruction of Jerusalem, and later, at *HE* V.12.2, Eusebius refers to what seems to be a written succession list, αἱ τῶν αὐτόθι διαδοχαί, of bishops who held office after the destruction of Jerusalem. It is possible that Hegesippus was one of Eusebius' written sources, even if Hegesippus was not the specific source for the report on the short lives of the earliest bishops of Jerusalem.<sup>87</sup>

(18) *HE* IV.29.1 (λόγος ἔχει). The tradition that Tatian was the author of Encratism probably comes from Irenaeus, who is quoted at IV.29.2–3.

(19) *HE* V.5.1 and 2 (λόγος ἔχει). The expression is used twice in the account of the “rain miracle” that occurred in the reign of Marcus Aurelius. The source is likely Apollinarius of Hierapolis, to whom Eusebius refers elsewhere in this chapter (V.5.4). Sage is probably correct to suggest that Eusebius uses the phrase here in order to express some doubt about the credibility of the story he repeats.<sup>88</sup>

(20) *HE* V.10.1 (λόγος ἔχει). Eusebius reports how Pantaenus, a Stoic, was particularly distinguished among the learned men of his day. The source of this information is unknown. Eusebius uses in this same chapter the words φασίν and λέγεται, and while Lawlor contrasts λόγος ἔχει with these terms, arguing that a written document is implied,<sup>89</sup> Eusebius could simply be vaguely recalling common tradition.

(21) *HE* V.19.1 (κατέχει λόγος). Eusebius reports the tradition that Serapion succeeded Maximinus as bishop of Antioch. The source of this information is not known, but Schwartz thinks it a written list, without dates, of the bishops of Antioch.<sup>90</sup>

(22) *HE* VI.4.3 (λόγος ἔχει). Eusebius reports the tradition that

<sup>87</sup> See the entry on Succession Lists, pp. 257–258. H. J. Lawlor, *Eusebiana*, pp. 91–94 (and at Lawlor and Oulton, II.167–170), thinks Eusebius used Hegesippus in this passage, as does Y. Lederman, “Les Évêques juifs de Jérusalem,” *Revue Biblique* 104 (1997), pp. 212–215.

<sup>88</sup> M. M. Sage, “Rain Miracle,” *Historia* (1987), pp. 101–104 and 111–112.

<sup>89</sup> H. J. Lawlor, *Eusebiana*, p. 22, note 2; Lawlor and Oulton, II.164. R. M. Grant, *Eusebius as Church Historian*, p. 61, inclines toward the opinion that oral tradition is the source, but he holds out the possibility that it is Clement of Alexandria's *Hypotyposes*. K. Toyota, “Authenticity,” *JCS* (1991), p. 98, attributes the information to Clement's *Hypotyposes*.

<sup>90</sup> E. Schwartz, *Die Kirchengeschichte*, III.ccxxxix–ccxli, followed by M. M. Sage, “Rain Miracle,” *Historia* (1987), p. 99.

Serenus, one of Origen's pupils, was martyred by torture and decapitation. The source is likely Origen himself, since, immediately after this story, Eusebius appeals to Origen for the story of another student's martyrdom, that of Herais.<sup>91</sup>

(23) *HE* VI.28 (κατέχει λόγος). Eusebius reports how two of Origen's friends, Ambrose and Procopius, suffered as confessors for no more than three years. Eusebius seems to have used Origen's *Exhortatio ad Martyrium*, *Comm. in Iohan.*, and letters for this information.<sup>92</sup>

(24) *HE* VI.34 (κατέχει λόγος). Eusebius reports the tradition that Philip the Arab, a Christian, was denied entrance to a church until he confessed his sins. Eusebius continues the story with the word λέγεται. The source is not known. Crouzel conjectures that Eusebius drew the story from one of Origen's letters.<sup>93</sup>

(25) *HE* VII.12 (κατέχει λόγος). Eusebius reports how a Marcionite woman was martyred at Caesarea in the persecution of Valerian along with Priscus, Malchus, and Alexander. In describing the actions of the three men, Eusebius uses the words φασίν and ιστοροῦσιν. The stories of all four martyrs presumably come from oral tradition at Caesarea, although it is possible that a written account of the martyrdoms survived.<sup>94</sup>

(26) *HE* VII.32.6 (λόγος ἔχει). Eusebius reports that Anatolius of Laodicea established an Aristotelian school at Alexandria. Because Anatolius served for a time as co-adjutor at Caesarea and was perhaps only one generation older than Eusebius, it seems reasonable to assume that Eusebius relied on oral tradition for this information.<sup>95</sup> Further in his description of Anatolius, Eusebius uses the words μνημονεύουσιν and φασίν (VII.32.7–8), also indications of oral tradition.

(27) *HE* VIII.6.6 (λόγος ἔχει). Eusebius reports voluntary martyrdoms

<sup>91</sup> Cf. H. J. Lawlor, *Eusebiana*, p. 22, note 3; Lawlor and Oulton, II.193.

<sup>92</sup> Cf. Lawlor and Oulton, II.220; M. M. Sage, "Rain Miracle," *Historia* (1987), p. 100.

<sup>93</sup> H. Crouzel, "Le christianisme de l'empereur Philippe l'Arabe," *Gregorianum* 56 (1975), p. 547. See I. Shahid, *Rome and the Arabs: a Prolegomenon to the Study of Byzantium and the Arabs* (Wa. D.C., 1984), pp. 66–93, on the debate over Philip's Christianity.

<sup>94</sup> Lawlor and Oulton, II.247, think that at least an account of the Marcionite woman's martyrdom survived for Eusebius' use. M. M. Sage, "Rain Miracle," *Historia* (1987), p. 101, however, prefers to think that Eusebius relied on oral tradition.

<sup>95</sup> So also M. M. Sage, "Rain Miracle," *Historia* (1987), p. 97, note 11, and K. Toyota, "Authenticity," *JCS* (1991), p. 98. But R. W. Burgess, "The Dates and Editions of Eusebius' *Chronici Canones* and *Historia Ecclesiastica*," *JTS* 48 (1997), p. 500, believes that Eusebius had a written source.

at Nicomedia soon after the outbreak of the Great Persecution and the mysterious fire in the imperial palace. Lawlor may be correct to suggest that Eusebius possessed a written account of the persecution at Nicomedia, perhaps a letter by Lucian of Antioch.<sup>96</sup>

28) *HE* VIII.App.1 (λόγος ἔχει). Eusebius reports that Galerius was the author of the persecution. The source may simply be current tradition.

How reliable is the information Eusebius presents under the expression λόγος (κατ)έχει? The problem seems insolvable because so little is known about the passages listed above. When employing this phrase, Eusebius does appear, in general, to have used at least one source, whether written (the majority) or oral. But the phrase itself is rather vague—at least for Eusebius, who regularly names his sources—and often indicates some hesitancy on Eusebius' part about his evidence or conclusions.<sup>97</sup> Thus Sage is probably correct about Eusebius' use of the expression at V.5.1–2. And, whether his source on Pantaenus was written or oral, Eusebius' use of the words λόγος ἔχει, φασίν, and λέγεται may simply show that he could not verify the information he passed on.<sup>98</sup> Similarly, Eusebius may show hesitancy about his statements at II.7.1 and III.37.1, when he seems to have relied on his own dim recollection of evidence. Sometimes, however, the phrase simply allows Eusebius to make indirect reference to a source already at hand and in use (e.g., II.1.13; II.17.6; II.17.19) or, in the case of III.32.1, to make a generalization. And it is possible that, when the phrase represents oral tradition, it is merely a variation on the word φασίν, another term that Eusebius cannot be said to have avoided.<sup>99</sup>

<sup>96</sup> H. J. Lawlor, *Eusebiana*, pp. 268–270; Lawlor and Oulton, II.272–273. M. M. Sage, “Rain Miracle,” *Historia* (1987), p. 97, note 11, thinks the source is oral tradition.

<sup>97</sup> On this aspect of the problem, see M. M. Sage, “Rain Miracle,” *Historia* (1987).

<sup>98</sup> See C. Scholten, “Die alexandrinische Katechetenschule,” *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 38 (1995), p. 18, note 10.

<sup>99</sup> See *HE* I.12.1; I.12.3; II.2.2; II.15.2; II.16.1; II.25.5; III.1; III.3.1–2; III.3.5–6; III.20.9; III.11; III.24.7; IV.5.2; IV.29.6; IV.30.2; V.10.2; VI.2.1–2; VI.2.8–11; VI.9–11; VI.33.4; VII.12; VII.17; VII.32.6–8. The word φασίν regularly implies oral tradition but occasionally refers to written evidence. Cf. H. J. Lawlor, *Eusebiana*, p. 36.

## C. SOURCES OUTSIDE CAESAREA

While his primary resource was the library at Caesarea, Eusebius does state that he made use of at least one other library when he composed the *HE*, the library founded in the early third century by Alexander, the bishop of Jerusalem. Eusebius acknowledges his use of this library at *HE* VI.20.1:

ἡκμαζον δὲ κατὰ τοῦτο πλείους λόγιοι καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ ἄνδρες, ὧν καὶ ἐπιστολάς, ὡς πρὸς ἀλλήλους διεχάραττον, ἔτι νῦν σφζομένας εὗρεῖν εὐπορον. αἱ καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐφυλάχθησαν ἐν τῇ κατὰ Αἰλίαν βιβλιοθήκῃ, πρὸς τοῦ τηνικάδε τὴν αὐτόθι διέποντος ἐκκλησίαν Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπισκευασθείσῃ, ἃφ' ἧς καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰς ὕλας τῆς μετὰ χεῖρας ὑποθέσεως ἐπὶ ταῦτόν συναγαγεῖν δεδυνήμεθα.

At this time many learned churchmen flourished, and it is easy to find the letters that they used to write to each other still now preserved. These letters were preserved even down to our time in the library at Aelia, which was fitted out by Alexander, who was at that time managing the church there. We ourselves have also been able to collect from it [the library] the materials of the subject at hand.

The churchmen of whom Eusebius speaks are situated in the reign of Caracalla (211–217) (*HE* VI.8.7), though in the chapter directly following VI.20 Eusebius introduces the reigns of Macrinus (217–218) and Alexander Severus (222–235): the date in the narrative is thus ca. 220. Alexander himself became bishop of Jerusalem in ca. 212, since his episcopate is linked to the beginning of Caracalla's reign (*HE* VI.8.7). With Theoctistus of Caesarea, he defended Origen when Demetrius of Alexandria criticized Origen's preaching at Caesarea (*HE* VI.19.17–18); he supported Origen's permanent removal from Alexandria; and he attended Origen's lectures at Caesarea (*HE* VI.27). Alexander perished in prison during the Decian persecution (*HE* VI.39.2–3).

Even before Alexander established his library at Jerusalem, however, an ecclesiastical archive probably existed there, for Narcissus of Jerusalem had assisted Theophilus of Caesarea in drafting a synodal letter during the Paschal Controversy in ca. 190, and the church at Jerusalem presumably retained a copy of this document. Unless—and this is unlikely—an archive survived from the time when Christians returned to Jerusalem after Titus destroyed the city in 70 (Eusebius reports the existence of bishops of Jerusalem in this period at *HE* IV.5), the archive probably dated back to the period after 135, after

the revolt of Bar Cochba (132–135) had been suppressed and when Hadrian rebuilt the city as the Colonia Aelia Capitolina.

Of the learned churchmen referred to at *HE* VI.20.1, Eusebius first names Beryllus of Bostra, then Hippolytus, and finally Gaius of Rome (VI.20.2–3).<sup>100</sup> Eusebius reports that “Beryllus has left behind, together with his letters, various beautiful works . . . and likewise also Hippolytus,” whose see Eusebius does not know. Gaius’ dialogue with the Cataphrygian Proclus, reports Eusebius, has also come down to him.

It is evident from the context of *HE* VI.20.2–3 that Beryllus, Hippolytus, and Gaius are intended as examples of the learned churchmen of the early third century, since Eusebius begins his discussion of them with the word τούτων: “of these [sc. churchmen].” Eusebius’ discussion of these three authors is distinct from his intervening reference to Alexander’s library, although there is a connecting thought between the reference to churchmen who flourished ca. 220 and the reference to Alexander’s library: the library contained a noteworthy collection of letters from this period. Of the three churchmen, only Beryllus wrote letters that could be found in Alexander’s library. In order to return the narrative to the description of prominent churchmen, Eusebius notes that Beryllus composed other works (these, too, may have been in Alexander’s library). References to Hippolytus and Gaius are thus added to provide further examples of the learned churchmen of the early third century and not necessarily as examples of authors whose letters could be found in the library at Jerusalem. A fuller catalogue of Hippolytus’ writings appears at *HE* VI.22, and Eusebius does not report the existence of letters (see *infra* on Hippolytus). Gaius composed a dialogue, but, again, Eusebius makes no reference to letters.

Alexander’s library at Jerusalem was, then, best known for its collection of letters from the early third century, the very period in which Alexander was bishop. In addition to letters (and, apparently, other works) by Beryllus of Bostra, Eusebius could doubtlessly find copies of Alexander’s own correspondence. Among this correspon-

<sup>100</sup> *HE* VI.20.2–3: τούτων Βήρυλλος σὺν ἐπιστολαῖς καὶ συγγραμμάτων διαφόρους φιλοκαλίας καταλέλοιπεν, ἐπίσκοπος δ’ οὗτος ἦν τῶν κατὰ Βόστραν Ἀράβων. ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ Ἱππόλυτος, ἐτέρας πού καὶ αὐτὸς προεστῶς ἐκκλησίας. [3.] ἦλθεν δὲ εἰς ἡμᾶς καὶ Γαίου, λογιωτάτου ἀνδρός, διάλογος, ἐπὶ Ῥώμης κατὰ Ζεφυρίνον πρὸς Πρόκλον τῆς κατὰ Φρύγας αἰρέσεως ὑπερμαχοῦντα κεκινήμενος.

dence Eusebius probably found letters addressed to Origen and letters written by Origen, and thus one may conjecture that Jerusalem was one of the sources from which Eusebius acquired some of the approximately one hundred letters by Origen to which Eusebius refers at *HE* VI.36.3. It was surely also Alexander's library that furnished Eusebius with a list of the bishops of Jerusalem, to which Eusebius refers at *HE* IV.5 and V.12.2.

Grant has suggested that Eusebius found another Christian work there, Hegesippus' Ὑπομνήματα, because, as far as can be judged from the extant fragments, it gave considerable treatment to the church at Jerusalem.<sup>101</sup> There is no way to determine whether Eusebius obtained his copy of Hegesippus' work from Jerusalem, but if he did (or if one of his predecessors did), it is likely enough that he found it in Alexander's library, though because the *Hypomnemata* was probably composed shortly after 190 it could have reached Jerusalem even before Alexander's episcopate.

There is little to suggest that Alexander's library contained valuable non-Christian works. A fragment from the eighteenth book of Julius Africanus' *Kestoi* indicates that a manuscript of Homer's *Odyssey* with variant readings was available at Jerusalem, but it is not entirely clear that this text of Homer was in Alexander's library, since Africanus refers to ἀρχεῖα ("archives") in Aelia.<sup>102</sup> Perhaps this reference is to a public library in Aelia.<sup>103</sup> As for the *Kestoi* themselves, while Alexander's library may have contained a copy, Origen, who corresponded with Africanus, is just as likely to have obtained the work independently for his library at Caesarea.

While Alexander's library did indeed provide Eusebius with materials for his *HE*, it will therefore be prudent not to overestimate its wealth. By Eusebius' own testimony it was most noteworthy for the correspondence of churchmen in the early third century. It may have

<sup>101</sup> R. M. Grant, *Eusebius as Church Historian* (Oxford, 1980), pp. 67–68.

<sup>102</sup> P. Oxy. III.412. H. Y. Gamble, *Books and Readers*, p. 154, note 28, supposes that the manuscript of Homer was in Alexander's library because "that is the only library known to have existed in Jerusalem [sic] at this time." Cf. E. Habas, "The Jewish Origin of Julius Africanus," *JJS* 45 (1994), p. 87, to which Gamble, in disagreement, refers. C. Wendel, *Handbuch der Bibl.*, III.130, note 3, minimizes the fact that Africanus speaks of ἀρχεῖα in Aelia.

<sup>103</sup> Hadrian seems to have ensured that the new foundation of Aelia Capitolina had all the structures worthy of a Graeco-Roman city (cf. *Chronicon Paschale* s. a. 119 [Olympiad 224.3] [Dindorf I.474]), and this could well have included some sort of a library.



contained other ecclesiastical documents and Christian texts, but it probably held few non-Christian works.<sup>104</sup> When Origen chose to settle at Caesarea, his newly established library must have quickly eclipsed Alexander's foundation at Jerusalem. What materials Eusebius found at Jerusalem (and elsewhere), it may be added, were very likely then copied and brought back to the library at Caesarea.<sup>105</sup> Certainly, this practice must have been followed when Eusebius found works that he wished to use in his own research, such as his ecclesiastical history.

Eusebius nevertheless must have obtained materials for the Caesarean library from various other cities, apart from Jerusalem. For example, during the Great Persecution, probably between 311 and 313,<sup>106</sup> Eusebius visited the Phoenician city of Tyre. Not only did Eusebius witness martyrdoms in this city (*HE* VIII.7.2), but he also copied down a rescript by Maximin Daia (*HE* IX.7.2–14). After the persecution, Eusebius returned to Tyre to deliver a panegyric on its newly rebuilt church (*HE* X.4). Paulinus, the bishop of Tyre, was one of Eusebius' friends (Eusebius dedicates the tenth book of the *HE* to him), and he could, if needed, have helped to procure books for Eusebius. Nautin has suggested that Eusebius found some of Origen's letters at Tyre, but, while it is possible that some of Origen's letters were in a Tyrian ecclesiastical archive or library, Nautin's conjecture rests on the judgment that Origen died at Tyre,<sup>107</sup> a judgment that is disputable (see above in Chapter I). It is perhaps more likely that Eusebius found Origen's letters in Jerusalem, as is proposed above. Because Eusebius visited Tyre himself, he could also have used the public library that probably existed at Tyre, as well as Paulinus' library.

North of Tyre, Eusebius had another friend. Theodotus had become bishop of Laodicea in Syria at some time during the Great Persecution

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<sup>104</sup> The assessment of Alexander's library at Jerusalem given here thus coincides more closely with that of R. Blum, "Literaturverzeichnis," *AGB* (1983), col. 213 (although Blum thinks that Eusebius found the works of Hippolytus at Jerusalem) than with that of H. Y. Gamble, *Books and Readers*, pp. 154–155.

<sup>105</sup> Cf. H. Y. Gamble, *Books and Readers*, pp. 156–157. Cf. G. Cavallo, "Scuola, scriptorium, biblioteca a Cesarea," *Le biblioteche*, p. 70, note 17, who wonders whether, if Eusebius found Hippolytus' books in Jerusalem, Eusebius used them in Jerusalem or at Caesarea.

<sup>106</sup> On the dating of Eusebius' travels, see T. D. Barnes, *CE*, pp. 148–149.

<sup>107</sup> P. Nautin, *Lettres et écrivains chrétiens* (Paris, 1961), p. 243, note 4 (regarding *HE* VI.36.3).

(*HE* VII.32.23), and Eusebius eventually dedicated his *PE* and *DE* to him. Both he and Eusebius were excommunicated at the Council of Antioch in 325, and both were rehabilitated at Nicaea. Eusebius is known to have preached in Laodicea (*Contra Marcellum* I.4.42–44), though the date is unknown. Just as Paulinus could have assisted Eusebius in obtaining books from Tyre, so, presumably, could Theodotus have given Eusebius access to his own library and those of his friends.

Still further north was Antioch, the provincial capital of Syria. Already in Eusebius' youth, Theotecnus, bishop of Caesarea, had acquired a dossier on Paul of Samosata when he attended the synod at Antioch in 268. Eusebius himself seems to have visited Antioch before the Great Persecution, since he reports that during the episcopacy of Cyril he heard an Antiochene presbyter named Dorotheus interpret the Scriptures in church.<sup>108</sup> One scholar has suggested that Eusebius found letters pertaining to the Novatianist Controversy in the episcopal archive at Antioch,<sup>109</sup> but Eusebius probably instead acquired these letters in a collection of the letters of Dionysius of Alexandria (see *infra* on Dionysius). Nevertheless, it is sufficient to observe that Eusebius could have obtained other works for the Caesarean library while he was in Antioch at this time. After the persecution, it may have been friends at Antioch who supplied Eusebius with special information about Lucian of Antioch and the persecution at Nicomedia (in the form of a letter from Lucian to the Antiochenes), Theotecnus of Antioch (including the transcript of his trial), and perhaps also Galerius' edict of toleration in 311. One of Eusebius' final works, the *De ecclesiastica theologia*, is dedicated to Flacillus of Antioch. During the Arian Controversy, Eusebius attended ecclesiastical councils at Antioch (in 325, in 328, and perhaps again in 329) and probably brought back to Caesarea at least the *decreta*, if not also the *acta*, of these councils. As the dispute over Arianism unfolded late in his life, Eusebius also attended ecclesiastical councils at Nicaea (325), at his own Caesarea (ca. 321 and 334), at Constantinople (336), and perhaps also at Nicomedia (327). In these cases,

<sup>108</sup> *HE* VII.32.2–4. Cyril's episcopate apparently ended ca. 303: see Lawlor and Oulton, II.261.

<sup>109</sup> T. D. Barnes, *Tertullian: a Historical and Literary Study* (Oxford, 1971), p. 6. Cf. *idem*, *CE*, p. 135.

too, Eusebius must have acquired conciliar documents for his library, and perhaps other works, as well.<sup>110</sup>

To the north and east of Antioch was the city of Edessa, from the public archive of which Eusebius claims his translated copy of the *Acta Thaddaei* comes. While the *Acta Thaddaei* may not have been composed in Edessa (see below *infra*), it is equally possible that one of Eusebius' friends did obtain the document at Edessa and then sent it to Eusebius at Caesarea. By the late third century Edessa was an educated Christian center, and it is certainly plausible that Eusebius acquired works from this center.<sup>111</sup>

Probably after Galerius proclaimed an end to the persecution in 311, Eusebius visited the Egyptian Thebaid, where he soon witnessed the resumption of persecution (*HE* VIII.9). Eusebius likely obtained at least one document regarding the persecution in Egypt, the letter of Phileas, bishop of Thmuis. Whether Eusebius visited Alexandria and, more important, used the episcopal archive there seems unlikely but is not known for certain (see *infra* on Dionysius of Alexandria).

Eusebius could therefore rely on the collection of works assembled at Caesarea by his many predecessors, but he could, and sometimes certainly did, make use of other libraries in the Greek East. The works he acquired will have naturally augmented the library at Caesarea.

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<sup>110</sup> For this reason H. A. Drake, "What Eusebius Knew: the Genesis of the *Vita Constantini*," *CP* 83 (1988), pp. 20–38, has suggested that Eusebius performed research for his *VC* in Constantinople.

<sup>111</sup> On Edessa's culture, see H. J. W. Drijvers, "The School of Edessa: Greek Learning and Local Culture," *Centres of Learning* (Leiden, 1995), pp. 49–59. The library at Caesarea contained at least one of Bardesanes' dialogues (in Greek translation), but it is unknown when the library acquired the work and whether the work was acquired directly from Edessa.

## CHAPTER THREE

### PHILOSOPHICAL WORKS

#### A. PRESOCRATICS

While summarizing the doctrines of the greatest Greek philosophers (*PE* X.14.10–17) in order to show how these philosophers appeared later than Moses and the Hebrew prophets and thus were dependent upon Moses and the prophets, Eusebius inserts a quotation of *Anaxagoras* (X.14.12).<sup>1</sup> An almost identical version of this quotation is also given at XIV.14.9,<sup>2</sup> again in a summary of Presocratic opinions, while the succeeding chapter (XV.15) discusses more fully the doctrine of Anaxagoras with quotations from Plato's *Phaedo*.

Both of these quotations occur in summaries of philosophical opinions. The first version, at X.14.12, occurs in a summary of opinions held by leading Greek philosophers, beginning with Thales. The second version, at XIV.14.9, follows a lengthy quotation of Ps-Plutarch's *De placitis philosophorum* that records the opinions of Presocratics from Thales to Empedocles (XIV.14.1–6). Interestingly, another summarized report of Anaxagoras' views comes at XIV.16.2 in a treatment by Ps-Plutarch of philosophical opinions on the gods. But, although Ps-Plutarch must be counted as a possible source for information on Anaxagoras, the quotation of Anaxagoras at XIV.14.9 (and that at X.14.12) cannot be linked to any of Ps-Plutarch's extant material.<sup>3</sup> Nor do the two quotations of Anaxagoras come from Diogenes Laertius, II.6, as Gifford proposes, since the verbal similarities between

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<sup>1</sup> *PE* X.14.12: ἦν γὰρ ἀρχὴν (φησί) τὰ πράγματα ὁμοῦ πεφυρμένα. νοῦς δὲ εἰσελθὼν αὐτὰ ἐκ τῆς ἀταξίας εἰς τάξιν ἤγαγεν. ("For, in the beginning [ἀρχήν], he says, all things were mixed together; but Mind, entering in, brought them from disorder into order.") Eusebius' text is not included in the collection of H. Diels and W. Kranz, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* (Berlin, 1964), but cf. fr. B1 and fr. B12.

<sup>2</sup> *PE* XIV.14.9: ἦν γὰρ ἐν ἀρχῇ (φησὶν) ὁμοῦ τὰ πράγματα πεφυρμένα. νοῦς δὲ εἰσελθὼν αὐτὰ ἐκ τῆς ἀταξίας εἰς τάξιν ἤγαγε. ("For, in the beginning [ἐν ἀρχῇ], he says, all things were mixed together; but Mind, entering in, brought them from disorder into order.")

<sup>3</sup> See K. Mras, *PE*, I.612, against the suggestion of E. H. Gifford, *PE*, II.365.

the passages in Eusebius and Diogenes are insufficient to show dependence.<sup>4</sup> An alternative is that Eusebius drew the quotations from Porphyry's *Historia philosophica*, and this is a plausible suggestion, though it cannot be proved.<sup>5</sup> It is equally possible that Eusebius utilized some other unidentified source, such as a doxography.

The quotations of three other Presocratics may be considered together. I have argued elsewhere that the ostensibly direct quotations of *Protagoras*' Περὶ θεῶν (at XIV.3.7 and XIV.19.10), *Metrodorus of Chios* (at XIV.19.9), and *Democritus* (at XIV.3.7 and XIV.19.9) derive from the eighth book of Aristocles' *De philosophia*. Eusebius provides these quotations at XIV.19.9–10 in a connecting passage between extracts from Aristocles (XIV.19.1–7 and XIV.20.1–12), whose work is the source for the information in this and other connecting passages that link a series of extracts from the *De philosophia* (XIV.17–21).<sup>6</sup> Another quotation of Democritus (fr. 299 Diels-Kranz at *PE* X.4.23) appears also in Clement of Alexandria's *Stromateis* (I.69.5), which is probably Eusebius' source.

An allusion to a statement of *Heracleitus* appears at XIV.3.8, immediately succeeding the quotations of Protagoras and Democritus at XIV.3.7 that Eusebius drew from Aristocles.<sup>7</sup> One might expect that the reference to Heracleitus similarly derives from Aristocles, but no evidence links the fragment of Heracleitus to Aristocles' *De philosophia*. The source is unknown, though one can speculate that Eusebius made use of a doxography or some other handbook.<sup>8</sup>

Eusebius summarizes *Parmenides*' doctrine at XIV.3.9, immediately after the fragment of Heracleitus. Neither Gifford, nor Mras, nor

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<sup>4</sup> M. Smith, "A Hidden Use of Porphyry's History of Philosophy in Eusebius' Praeparatio Evangelica," *JTS* 39 (1988), p. 497, against the suggestion of E. H. Gifford, *PE*, II.59.

<sup>5</sup> M. Smith in *JTS* (1988). Smith also suggests that Eusebius used Porphyry's history of philosophy for quotations of Protagoras, Metrodorus of Chios, and Democritus in the *PE*, but this suggestion should be rejected (cf. A. J. Carriker, *JTS* [1996]).

<sup>6</sup> See A. J. Carriker, *JTS* (1996), for the full argument. The quotation of Protagoras also appears at Diels-Kranz, *Frag. der Vorsokr.*, fr. B4; that of Metrodorus at Diels-Kranz, fr. B1 and fr. B2; that of Democritus is not included in the fragments of Democritus, but cf. Leukippos A6.

<sup>7</sup> For the quotation of Heracleitus, cf. Diels-Kranz, *Frag. der Vorsokr.*, fr. B90.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. E. des Places, *Eusèbe de Césarée, commentateur: platonisme et écriture sainte*, *Théologie historique* 63 (Paris, 1982) p. 39, who notes that Eusebius could have used a doxography rather than borrowed the quotation directly from a text of Heracleitus.

des Places notes this summary as a source for Eusebius, presumably because it is Eusebius' own synopsis made without reference to another source. Eusebius may well have relied on his own knowledge of Parmenides' views, rather than a specific source.

## B. OTHER AUTHORS

*Alexander of Aphrodisias* Eusebius devotes the sixth book of the *PE* to a criticism of belief in Fate, and at VI.9 Eusebius presents several quotations from Alexander's *De fato*, as much as one sixth of Alexander's treatise.<sup>9</sup> Many of these quotations are not continuous, since Eusebius omits sentences or words from the text he quotes, and most are linked by Eusebius' own summaries of the intervening text. At the end of the series of extracts, however, Eusebius acknowledges that he has himself abridged Alexander's text, so it is evident that Eusebius used Alexander's text firsthand.<sup>10</sup>

Alexander was a reputable Peripatetic of the late second century who composed his treatise *De fato* between the years 198 and 209.<sup>11</sup> In addition to a number of other small treatises, Alexander also wrote numerous commentaries on individual works of Aristotle.<sup>12</sup> Whether Eusebius possessed any of Alexander's other works is unclear, but it seems rather unlikely that he knew Alexander's commentaries because elsewhere he evinces no direct knowledge of Aristotle, an ignorance that suggests that the library at Caesarea lacked the works of Aristotle and commentaries on those works.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Cf. P. Thillet, *Alexandre d'Aphrodise, Traité du Destin* (Paris, 1984), pp. cxxix.

<sup>10</sup> Eusebius begins *PE* VI.9.32: τούτων ἡμῖν ἀπὸ πλείστον ἐπιτετμημένων . . . ("these passages having been abridged by us from very many. . .").

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Dio Cassius, 72.31; the date of the *De fato* can be inferred from the dedication to the emperors Septimius Severus and Caracalla. See P. Thillet, *Alexandre d'Aphrodise*, p. vii and pp. xlix–li and lxxv–lxxix; R. W. Sharples, *Alexander of Aphrodisias on Fate* (London, 1983), p. 15, suggests that Alexander was appointed to a chair in Aristotelian philosophy by Marcus Aurelius.

<sup>12</sup> For a catalogue of Alexander's extant works in Greek and Arabic, together with his lost works, see R. W. Sharples, "Alexander of Aphrodisias: Scholasticism and Innovation," *ANRW* II.36.2 (1987), pp. 1182–1199, and P. Thillet, *Alexandre d'Aphrodise*, pp. lii–lxxiii.

<sup>13</sup> See further the section on Aristotle below. As a man more familiar with Middle Platonism, Eusebius' interest may not have extended to commentaries on Aristotle. By comparison, however, Plotinus is said to have had, among other commentaries, those of Alexander read aloud to his students in order to stimulate discussion (Porphyry, *VP* 14.12–14, if the Alexander named is Alexander of Aphrodisias).

*Amelius Gentilianus* of Etruria was a prominent disciple of Plotinus in the middle of the third century.<sup>14</sup> He began to study under Plotinus in approximately 246 and remained with him until ca. 269 (Porphyry, *Vita Plotini*, 3.38ff.). At the time of Plotinus' death, ca. 270, Amelius was in Apamea in Syria (*VP* 2.32–33). He seems to have passed through Phoenicia and met Longinus, perhaps at Tyre, on his way to Apamea in ca. 270 (*VP* 19).

Amelius addressed letters to Porphyry, Longinus, and others in defense of Plotinus' philosophy.<sup>15</sup> Porphyry also attests to the existence of two longer works: the *Scholia*, notes that Amelius took on Plotinus' lectures in one hundred books; and the criticism of the Gnostic *Book of Zostrian*.<sup>16</sup> He may also have written commentaries on the *Timaeus*, *Republic*, *Parmenides*, and *Philebus*.<sup>17</sup>

Eusebius quotes only once (*PE* XI.19) from a work by Amelius whose title is not given. In the quotation Amelius, in the midst of what seems to be a discussion of the Logos, refers to the prologue of the Gospel of St. John. It is unclear from which of Amelius' works this extract comes, but two works seem most likely. H. Dörrie suggests that the quotation derives from Amelius' *Scholia*, one of whose books may have been devoted to the topic (presumably, the Logos) treated in the extant quotation.<sup>18</sup> L. Brisson suggests that Amelius' refutation of the Gnostics in his treatment of the *Book of Zostrian* pro-

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<sup>14</sup> Porphyry provides information on Amelius throughout his *Vita Plotini*. For an analysis of this information, see the entry, "Amélius," by L. Brisson in *Vie de Plotin* (Paris, 1982), I.65–71.

<sup>15</sup> See Porphyry, *VP* 18.8–19, for the work that Amelius wrote in answer to Porphyry's objections to Plotinus' philosophy when Porphyry first came to Rome; Amelius also responded to Porphyry's reply. Amelius wrote a defense of Plotinus' philosophy addressed to Longinus (*VP* 20.101) as well as another work on justice in Plato to which Longinus responded (*VP* 20.88–89). Amelius also defended Plotinus against the charge that he plagiarized the work of Numenius (*VP* 17.1–6), a charge that was made by philosophers in Greece.

<sup>16</sup> For the *Scholia*, see Porphyry, *VP* 4.3–6 and 3.46–48; for the refutation of the Gnostics, *VP* 16.13–14.

<sup>17</sup> L. Brisson, "Amélius: son vie, son oeuvre, se doctrine, son style," *ANRW* II.36.2 (1987), pp. 826–828 and 860, discusses the evidence for these possible works. The evidence for these possible works consists of references to Amelius made by Iamblichus, Proclus, and Damascius, but all of these references may, in fact, derive from Amelius' *Scholia*.

<sup>18</sup> H. Dörrie, "Une exégèse néoplatonicienne du prologue de l'Évangile selon Saint Jean," *Epektasis: Mélanges patristiques offerts au Cardinal Jean Daniélou* (Paris, 1972), pp. 75–87 = *Platonica Minora* (Munich, 1976), pp. 491–507.

vides a more plausible subject within which Amelius could refer to the Gospel of St. John.<sup>19</sup> Both possibilities are defensible. According to Porphyry, Amelius settled at Apamea in Syria ca. 270; furthermore, Amelius bequeathed to his adopted son, Ustilianus [Hostilianus] Hesychius of Apamea, the hundred books of his *Scholia* (*IP* 3.46–48). Presumably, then, the *Scholia* were brought to Apamea in ca. 270 and survived there for at least another generation (and references to Amelius by Iamblichus and other later writers demonstrates that some of Amelius' writings did survive at least into the early fourth century), surely enough time for a copy of at least the single volume that contained the reference to the Gospel to be made for the library at Caesarea. If, on the other hand, the quotation found in *PE* XI comes from Amelius' criticism of the *Book of Zostrian*, it is yet reasonable to expect that when Amelius came to Syria he brought with him his other works, including the forty books against the *Book of Zostrian*. Nor would it be surprising to find that the library at Caesarea that was founded by Origen and was presumably connected in some way to the Church in that city contained a work (or some one of the forty volumes of that work) devoted to the refutation of a Gnostic text.

Eusebius presumably quoted the passage firsthand. The quotation of Amelius comes in a lengthy section devoted to an examination of how Greek philosophy agrees with Hebrew (Christian) doctrine regarding the Second Cause (Logos) in *PE* XI.14–19. It seems quite likely (cf. the discussion of Plato below) that Eusebius himself compiled the dossier for the *PE*.<sup>20</sup>

*Antisthenes* F. Decleva Caizzi includes the *testimonium* at *PE* XV.13.7 in her collection of the fragments of Antisthenes, the pupil of Socrates.<sup>21</sup> The *testimonium* occurs in a transitional section (XV.13.6–9), for it follows Eusebius' criticism of Aristotle (XV.2–13.5) and introduces Eusebius' criticism of the Stoics (XV.14–22). Within XV.13.6–9 Eusebius records the succession in the Stoic school from Socrates' disciple Antisthenes down to Zeno. The source of this passage on

<sup>19</sup> L. Brisson, *ANRW* (1987), pp. 824 and 840–843.

<sup>20</sup> For further discussion of the dossier on the Second Cause, see the section on Plato below.

<sup>21</sup> F. Decleva Caizzi, *Antisthenis fragmenta*, Testi e documenti per lo studio dell'antichità 13 (Milan, 1966), fr. 108e.



the Stoic succession may be an unidentified doxography or another source, but two other candidates ought to be considered: Aristocles' *De philosophia*, from the seventh book of which Eusebius draws a basic explanation of Stoic doctrine at XV.14.1–2, immediately after the transitional section of XV.13.6–9; and Arius Didymus' *Epitome*, from which Eusebius draws a number of more detailed passages on Stoic doctrine (XV.15, 18, 19–20).

*Apollonius of Tyana* Apollonius of Tyana (ca. AD 40–120) was a Platonizing Pythagorean philosopher and wonder-worker who was little known outside Asia Minor and Syria until Philostratus composed his *vita* in ca. 217 and Sossianus Hierocles used that *vita* as a basis for an attack on Christianity.<sup>22</sup> Eusebius quotes once from Apollonius' work *De sacrificiis* at *PE* IV.13.1. Eusebius introduces this extract, however, with a passive construction and not with any of his customary assurances that the extract repeats Apollonius' exact words (for example, κατὰ λέξιν, πρὸς λέξιν, πρὸς ῥῆμα, etc.).<sup>23</sup> It seems that Eusebius has drawn this single quotation of Apollonius from an intermediary.<sup>24</sup>

M. Dzielska has recently provided a credible identification of this intermediary, and her conclusions are accepted here.<sup>25</sup> As others have noted, Porphyry, in his *De abstinence*, II.34.2, includes a passage that is similar in content to the fragment of *De sacrificiis* preserved by Eusebius.<sup>26</sup> Although Porphyry does not name the author of this passage (calling him only τις ἀνὴρ σοφός), it appears that he has paraphrased in the *De abstinence* a passage that he elsewhere quoted directly, probably with proper attribution.<sup>27</sup> It is probably this other

<sup>22</sup> M. Dzielska, *Apollonius of Tyana in Legend and History*, P. Pierkowski, trans., Problemi e ricerche di storia antica 10 (Rome, 1986), pp. 185–187.

<sup>23</sup> *PE* IV.12.1: . . . ἐν τῇ Περὶ Θυσιῶν . . . ὁ Τυανεύς Ἀπολλώνιος τάδε γράφειν λέγεται. Eusebius also repeats the quotation found at *PE* IV.13.1, less its final sentence, at *DE* III.3.11.

<sup>24</sup> O. Zink, *SC* #262 (1979), p. 143, n. 3, also recognizes that this introduction suggests that Eusebius is not quoting directly from Apollonius, but she offers no explanation about Eusebius' source.

<sup>25</sup> M. Dzielska, *Apollonius of Tyana*, pp. 136–139.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. J. Bouffartigue and M. Patillon, *Porphyre de l'abstinence*, vol. II (Paris, 1979), pp. 30–34.

<sup>27</sup> Dzielska here follows E. Norden, *Agnostos Theos* (Leipzig-Berlin, 1913), pp. 343–344. J. Bouffartigue and M. Patillon, *Porphyre*, p. 32, judge Porphyry's extract to be a "touching-up" (*remaniement*) of the original, rather than a paraphrase.

work by Porphyry from which Eusebius drew his quotation of Apollonius' *De sacrificiis*. The identity of this other work by Porphyry, as Dzielska conjectures, is the *De philosophia ex oraculis*, a work that has been shown to have parallels with *De abstinencia*, II.34, and the extract from Apollonius' *De sacrificiis*.<sup>28</sup> That Eusebius drew his quotation of Apollonius from Porphyry's *De philosophia ex oraculis* is the more believable because the *De philosophia ex oraculis* is quoted repeatedly in the *PE*, especially throughout *PE* IV (as at IV.7–9; 20; and 23) and *PE* V.

It is important to note further that in the two chapters immediately preceding Eusebius' quotation of the *De sacrificiis* (*PE* IV.11–12) Eusebius quotes from Porphyry's *De abstinencia*, II.34.2–5. Eusebius may have recognized in the text of *De abstinencia*, II.34.2, the reference to the quotation of Apollonius, which Eusebius then found and quoted directly from Porphyry's *De philosophia ex oraculis*.

*Aristippus (with Epicurus)* Des Places records five occurrences of *testimonia* of Aristippus of Cyrene or Aristippus Minor in Eusebius' own text of the *PE* (that is, in passages that do not come from another directly quoted source). There are no direct quotations of either Aristippus. The first two *testimonia* at XIV.18.31–32 as well as the third at XIV.20.13 all occur in connecting passages between extracts from Aristocles' *De philosophia* and so should be attributed to Aristocles, as G. Giannantoni himself attributes them.<sup>29</sup> (In these same passages Usener finds *testimonia* to Epicurus, and these *testimonia* also ought to be ascribed to Aristocles.)<sup>30</sup> The fourth *testimonium* appears at XIV.2.4.<sup>31</sup> Giannantoni does not attribute the information to any source other than Eusebius, but here, too, Aristocles may be the actual source. Eusebius devotes the text of XIV.2 to an outline of his own argument in this fourteenth book of the *PE*, and the *testimonium* at XIV.2.4

<sup>28</sup> M. Dzielska, *Apollonius of Tyana*, p. 139, n. 3, refers to J. J. O'Meara, *Porphyry's Philosophy from Oracles in Augustine*, Études Augustiniennes (Paris, 1959), p. 169.

<sup>29</sup> The fragments of Aristippus and the Cyrenaics may be found in G. Giannantoni, *I Cirenaici: raccolta delle fonti antiche* (Florence, 1958), and in E. Mannebach, *Aristippi et Cyrenaicorum fragmenta* (Leiden, 1961). The *testimonia* at XIV.18.31–32 are I.B27 and I.B75 Giannantoni = 155 and 211B Mannebach; and II.5 Giannantoni = 163, 201, and 210 Mannebach. The *testimonium* at XIV.20.13 is I.B73 Giannantoni = 141 Mannebach.

<sup>30</sup> XIV.18.31 = 449 Usener and XIV.20.13–14 = 449 and 233 Usener (*Epicurea* [Stuttgart, 1966]).

<sup>31</sup> I.B74 Giannantoni = 211A Mannebach.

is merely a notice of Aristippus' doctrine. Because the remaining *testimonia* about Aristippus in this book derive from Aristocles, it is likely that this information, as general as it is, has the same source. As for the fifth testimonium, *PE* XV.62.7–13, Mannebach has argued that this apparently indirect quotation should be attributed to Aristippus,<sup>32</sup> but this is a problematic passage that will be better considered in the discussion of Ariston of Chios below. The first four testimonia, however, must evidently be attributed to Aristocles' *De philosophia*.

Another allusion to Epicurus may simply be attributed to Eusebius' general knowledge of philosophy. At *VC* I.17.2 Eusebius tells how Constantius I, because he was a Christian, enjoyed a peaceful life, "neither having trouble nor causing trouble to another." This type of sentiment appears in many earlier authors and can be traced back to Epicurus, *Ratae sententiae* 1.<sup>33</sup>

*Aristocles of Messana (Sicily)* Little is known of Aristocles of Messana. On the basis of the entry on him in the *Suidas* lexicon, Aristocles is often said to have been a noted Peripatetic in Athens in the second half of the second century, the teacher of Alexander of Aphrodisias, and the author of works on ethics, rhetoric, Sarapis, and a comparison of Homer and Plato.<sup>34</sup> P. Moraux, however, has argued that the Aristocles who taught Alexander of Aphrodisias was actually Aristocles of Mytilene, and, as a result, the remaining evidence from the *Suidas* seems of dubious value for Aristocles of Messana.<sup>35</sup> He may nevertheless be dated to the early empire, in the first or second century.<sup>36</sup> Aristocles is also called a Peripatetic twice by Eusebius

<sup>32</sup> 145 Mannebach with pp. 90–91 = I.B20 Giannantoni.

<sup>33</sup> *VC* I.17.2: τὸ μῆτε πράγματα ἔχειν μῆτ' ἄλλω παρέχειν. In his edition of the *VC*, F. Winkelmann makes the comparison with Epicurus, *Ratae sententiae* 1 (p. 71 Usener; p. 121 Arrighetti). Usener (p. 394) lists *testimonia* from, among others, Plutarch, *Contra epic. beatit.* 23; Sextus Empiricus, *Hyp. Pyrrh.* 3.219; Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* 1.10.93; Maximus of Tyre, *Diss.* 10.9; Hippolytus, *Ref. omnium haeres.* I.22.3; Lactantius, *De ira dei* 8.5.

<sup>34</sup> *Testimonia* and fragments are collected and analyzed by H. Heiland, *Aristocles Messenii reliquiae* (Diss. Giessen, 1925), pp. 1–5; also for the fragments, see F. Mullach, *FPhG*, III.206–221.

<sup>35</sup> P. Moraux, "Aristoteles, der Lehrer des Alexander von Aphrodisias," *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie* 49 (1967), pp. 169–182; see also H. B. Gottschalk, "Aristotelian Philosophy in the Roman World from the Time of Cicero to the End of the Second Century AD," *ANRW* II.36.2 (1987), pp. 1162–1163 for a summary of information on Aristocles.

<sup>36</sup> So Gottschalk, *ANRW*, p. 1163.

in the *PE*, although the fragments of his work testify to the influence of the Academy and Stoa upon him.<sup>37</sup>

The extant fragments of the *De philosophia*, a history of philosophy in ten books, are preserved only by Eusebius, who quotes extensively from the seventh (at *PE* XI.3.1–9; XV.2; XV.14) and eighth (at *PE* XIV.17.1–9; XIV.18.1–30; XIV.19.1–7; XIV.20; XIV.21) books. It is unclear whether Eusebius possessed the remaining books of this work. As I have argued elsewhere, Eusebius found in Aristocles' *De philosophia* quotations of Metrodorus of Chios (fr. 1 and fr. 2 D–K; *PE* XIV.19.9), Protagoras (fr. 4 D–K; *PE* XIV.3.7; XIV.19.10), and Democritus (Leukippos A6 D–K; *PE* XIV.3.7; XIV.19.9) that Eusebius ostensibly quotes firsthand in connecting passages between quotations of the *De philosophia*.<sup>38</sup>

*Ariston of Chios?* After quoting from Xenophon's *Memorabilia* near the end of the *PE*, Eusebius begins a section in which he argues that ethics is the only possible subject of philosophy (XV.62.7–13). Composed in indirect statement and containing a quotation from an unidentified tragedy,<sup>39</sup> the section concerns the views of Aristippus of Cyrene and Ariston of Chios, and its substance has consequently been attributed to both philosophers.<sup>40</sup> Mras, on the other hand, has argued that Ariston of Ceos is the philosophical source of the passage.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>37</sup> Eusebius calls Aristocles a Peripatetic at *PE* XI.2.6 and XV.1.13. For assessments of Aristocles' philosophy, see F. Trabucco, "Il problema del de philosophia di Aristocle di Messene e la sua dottrina," *Acme* 11 (1958), 97–150; "La polemica di Aristocle di Messene contro Protagoro e Epicuro," *Atti della Accademia delle Scienze di Torino* 93 (1958–59), pp. 473–515; "La polemica di Aristocle di Messene contro lo Scetticismo e Aristippo e i Cirenaici," *Rivista storia della filosofia* 15 (1960), 115–140, especially pp. 138–140.

<sup>38</sup> A. J. Carriker, "Some Uses," *JTS* (1996), pp. 543–549.

<sup>39</sup> Fr. adespota 157 Nauck, possibly from Euripides' *Andromeda*. It is unlikely that Eusebius would quote directly from a tragedy because the library at Caesarea was so deficient in such works. Cf. Chapter IV on poets below.

<sup>40</sup> J. von Arnim, SVF I.353, attributes the entire fragment to Ariston of Chios; G. Giannantoni, *I Cirenaici*, fr. I.B20, attributes the text of XV.62.7–11 to Aristippus; E. Mannebach, *Aristippi et Cyrenaicorum fragmenta*, fr. 145 and pp. 90–91, attributes the information to both Aristippus (XV.62.7 and 10–13) and Ariston of Chios (XV.62.8–9); A. M. Ioppolo, *Aristone di Chio e lo Stoicismo antico*, Elenchos 1 (Naples, 1980), pp. 78–90, returns to the view of Arnim and attributes the information to Ariston of Chios.

<sup>41</sup> K. Mras, "Ariston von Keos (in einem zweiten Bruchstück von Plutarchs *Stromateis*)," *Wiener Studien* 68 (1955), pp. 88–98.

Although the weight of scholarly opinion is against Mras,<sup>42</sup> only Mras investigates what Eusebius' own source for this section was—since it is unlikely that Eusebius utilized directly any texts of Aristippus or Ariston of Chios.

Mras suggests that Eusebius drew the text of XV.62.7–13 from Ps-Plutarch's *Stromateis*, a work that Eusebius quotes directly at I.8.1–12.<sup>43</sup> Mras also considers (but rejects) the possibility that Aristocles' *De philosophia*, another work that Eusebius quotes directly in the *PE*, is the source.<sup>44</sup> (Aristocles' *De philosophia*, it may be recalled, was Eusebius' source for information on Aristippus of Cyrene, whose views figure in the passage under discussion.) There can be no secure attribution of *PE* XV.62.7–13, but whether the source is Ps-Plutarch or Aristocles is in some sense immaterial. In either case, it is already clear that Eusebius used Ps-Plutarch's *Stromateis* and Aristocles' *De philosophia*.<sup>45</sup> Alternatively, Eusebius used an unidentifiable source, perhaps a doxography.

*Aristotle* Eusebius nowhere quotes Aristotle directly. In his critique of Aristotelian philosophy (*PE* XV.2–13), where direct quotation of Aristotle would be most effective, Eusebius instead relies on the judgments of Atticus, Plotinus, and Porphyry. Elsewhere, when Eusebius names Aristotle, he evidences no more than a general familiarity with Aristotelian views.<sup>46</sup> It is ordinarily, and reasonably, assumed that Eusebius did not know the works of Aristotle firsthand, with the rather less secure conclusion that the library at Caesarea lacked copies of Aristotle's works.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>42</sup> E. des Places, SC #338 (Paris, 1987), pp. 430–431 with note, cautiously attributes the information in this section to Aristippus and Ariston of Chios.

<sup>43</sup> K. Mras, *Wiener Studien* (1955), pp. 96–97, in which Mras also argues that the *Stromateis* is a genuine work of Plutarch and ought therefore not to be attributed to “Ps-Plutarch.” F. H. Sandbach, ed., *Plutarchi Moralia*, VII (Leipzig, 1967), fr. 179 with note, denies both that Plutarch authored the *Stromateis* and that Eusebius relied on this work when composing XV.62.7–13.

<sup>44</sup> K. Mras, *Wiener Studien* (1955), pp. 95–96.

<sup>45</sup> See the respective sections on each of these authors.

<sup>46</sup> For a list of Eusebius' references to Aristotle, see D. T. Runia, “Festugière Revisited: Aristotle in the Greek Patres,” *Vigiliae Christianae* 43 (1989), p. 8. Runia expands the references given by A. J. Festugière, *L'Idéal religieux des grecs et l'évangile* (Paris, 1932; second edition 1981), pp. 255–258.

<sup>47</sup> K. Mras, *Die PE*, p. lviii, note 1, observes only that it is “open to question” whether the library at Caesarea contained Aristotle's works. D. T. Runia, *Vigiliae Christianae* (1989), p. 17, maintains that “there were no works of Aristotle in that library.”

Eusebius' ignorance of Aristotle is not without explanation. It is evident from his choice of other quotations, as well as from some of his theological views, that Eusebius was educated in the thought of Middle Platonism.<sup>48</sup> Although a Platonist teacher sometimes used Aristotle's logical works as an introduction to the study of philosophy,<sup>49</sup> such was not always the case. In the early empire it was more common that only serious students of Aristotle read his works, while those with a less specialized interest learned their Aristotelian doctrine from commentaries, handbooks, and doxographies.<sup>50</sup> Eusebius appears to fall into this second category of student. His knowledge of Aristotle in *PE* XV comes through the criticism of Atticus, Plotinus, and Porphyry, but we may expect that he learned about Aristotle's doctrines from other intermediaries—for example, Aristocles of Messana and Alexander of Aphrodisias, both named as Peripatetics by Eusebius—as well as such doxographies as that of Arius Didymus.

That Origen's *Contra Celsum*, written at Caesarea, also yields no clear evidence of firsthand usage of Aristotle lends some support to the idea that Caesarea lacked Aristotle's works.<sup>51</sup> Origen's references to Aristotle seem to be too general or too common to allow for direct usage; they likely derive from Origen's own learning and memory or from doxographies or other intermediaries. And certainly, Origen used an Aristotelian dictionary.<sup>52</sup>

Whether Origen himself studied Aristotle during his schooldays in Alexandria is another, perhaps more difficult, question. One scholar has recently suggested that Origen's teacher in Alexandria, Ammonius, was actually a Peripatetic, and he sees the influence of Aristotelian thought in Origen's *De principiis*.<sup>53</sup> Other scholars, though they do

<sup>48</sup> See, for example, F. Ricken, "Die Logoslehre des Eusebios von Caesarea und der Mittelplatonismus," *Theologie und Philosophie* 42 (1967), pp. 341–358.

<sup>49</sup> J. Dillon, "The Academy in the Middle Platonic Period," *Dionysius* III (1979), p. 71 [= *The Golden Chain* (London, 1990), III], refers to Albinus (Alcinous) as one Platonist who utilized Aristotle's logical works as an introduction to philosophy.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. H. Gottschalk, "Aristotelian Philosophy," *ANRW* (1987), p. 1172.

<sup>51</sup> For a list of Origen's references to Aristotle in the *Contra Celsum*, see D. T. Runia, *Vigiliae Christianae* (1989), p. 7.

<sup>52</sup> On dictionaries, see R. Cadiou, "Dictionnaires," *REG* (1932), pp. 271–285; E. Klostermann, "Überkommene Definitionen," *ZNTW* (1938), pp. 54–61; G. Dorival, *Origeniana Quinta*, p. 195. See *Comm. in Ps.* 35.6 (PG 12: 1053A) on the definition of τέλος; *Hom. in Jer.* 20.1 on the definition of homonyms; *Comm. in Rom.* 9.2 on the definition of ἀμαρτία; cf. also the Alexandrian *Comm. in Johan.* 1.16 on the definition of ἀρχή.

<sup>53</sup> M. Edwards, "Ammonius, Teacher of Origen," *JEH* 44 (1993), pp. 179–181.

not restrict themselves to Origen's years in Alexandria, allow that Origen may have read a few of Aristotle's works, the most likely being the *De anima* and *Nicomachean Ethics*.<sup>54</sup> Origen's familiarity with such a wide range of Greek thought makes it difficult to exclude the possibility that he knew, if only in Alexandria, works by Aristotle, rather than simply handbooks or doxographies.<sup>55</sup> But it is possible that Origen did not bring any of Aristotle's works to Caesarea.

Reference ought to be made to one other man, Anatolius, the bishop of Laodicea in Syria, who, according to Eusebius (*HE* VII.32.6), led the Aristotelian school in Alexandria and was later ordained in Caesarea (*HE* VII.32.21) before he was finally installed at Laodicea in ca. 268. He is surely likely to have brought copies of his master's works to Caesarea. Perhaps, then, if these works were not all packed off to Anatolius in Laodicea, a few of Aristotle's works remained in the library at Caesarea, unused by Anatolius' successors.

*Arius Didymus* Eusebius quotes at *PE* XI.23 from "the things compiled by Didymus about the dogmas of Plato" and, in the course of his criticism of Stoic doctrine, at *PE* XV.15 and 20 from the "Epi-tome(s) of Arius Didymus."<sup>56</sup> The extracts in both books likely come from the same doxography compiled by Arius Didymus, who is commonly identified as the Arius who was a friend of the emperor Augustus.<sup>57</sup> This doxography seems to have been a survey of phi-

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In addition, L. J. Elders, "The Greek Christian Authors and Aristotle," *Aristotle in Late Antiquity*, L. P. Schrenk, ed. (Washington, DC, 1994), p. 128, compares *De prin.* 2.8 to *De anima* 411b7; *De prin.* 2.8 to *De anima* 405b29; *De prin.* 2.11 to the beginning of the *Metaphysics*.

<sup>54</sup> H. Koch, *Pronoia und Paideusis: Studien über Origenes und sein Verhältnis zum Platonismus* (Berlin-Leipzig, 1932), p. 170, believes that Origen knew the *De anima*, possibly the *Ethics*. H. Crouzel, *Origène et la philosophie* (Paris, 1962), p. 34, names only the *Ethics*.

<sup>55</sup> A. J. Festugière, *L'idéal religieux*, p. 253, evaluating only the references in the *Contra Celsum*, still holds out the possibility that Origen had firsthand knowledge of Aristotle.

<sup>56</sup> *PE* XI.23.2: ἐκ τῶν Διδύμου περὶ τῶν ἀρεσκόντων Πλάτωνι συντεταγμένων. *PE* XV.15, chapter-heading: ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐπιτομῆς Ἀρείου Διδύμου; XV.20.8: ἀπὸ τῶν Ἐπιτομῶν Ἀρείου Διδύμου. Eusebius gives extracts from Porphyry and Numenius at *PE* XV.16 and 17, respectively (each being named in the chapter-headings), but he presumably quotes from the *Epitome* at *PE* XV.18 and 19, which more generally treat Stoic beliefs (conflagration and regeneration, respectively). *PE* XV.20 is then devoted to Stoic opinion on the soul, at the end of which Eusebius names his source, the *Epitomes* of Arius Didymus.

<sup>57</sup> Arius is mentioned at the end of Book VII of Diogenes Laertius; see also Dio Cassius, 51.16.3–4; and Plutarch, *M. Ant.*, 80.1 for Octavian's friendship with Arius.



losophy that was arranged according to school, including the Platonic, Peripatetic, and Stoic schools.<sup>58</sup> There is no reason to doubt that Eusebius used this epitome of philosophy firsthand at Caesarea.

If, as seems likely, recent scholarly criticisms of H. Diels's explanation of Didymus' work are correct, then the *Epitome* must be a separate work from Didymus' *On Sects*, which is named by Stobaeus, 2.1.17.<sup>59</sup> There is, however, no evidence to show whether Eusebius knew this other work.

*Atticus* In his *Chronicon* (p. 207 Helm) Eusebius dates the Platonic philosopher Atticus to the Olympiad 176–180.<sup>60</sup> Eusebius quotes from only one work by Atticus, *Against Those Who Promise the Teachings of Plato in Aristotle* (Πρὸς τοὺς διὰ τῶν Ἀριστοτέλους τὰ Πλάτωνος ὑπισχυνομένων) (*PE* XI.1.2). Apart from a single quotation at *PE* XI.2, all of the extracts from Atticus appear in *PE* XV in Eusebius' criticism of Aristotle's philosophy, for which Atticus is the main authority (although Eusebius also quotes briefly from Plotinus and Porphyry).<sup>61</sup> There is no reason to doubt that Eusebius used Atticus firsthand.

Several fragments survive from other works by Atticus that have no titles.<sup>62</sup> Atticus may have written a treatise on the soul as well as individual commentaries on Aristotle's *Categories*, on the *Timaeus*, and on the *Phaedrus*. One cannot know whether Eusebius possessed any of these other works, but it would not be surprising if he were

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But in his examination of these and other passages, T. Göransson, *Albinus, Alconous, Arius Didymus*, *Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia* 61 (Göteborg, 1995), pp. 208–218, concludes that Arius Didymus was not the same man as Augustus' friend.

<sup>58</sup> D. E. Hahm, "The Ethical Doxography of Arius Didymus," *ANRW* II.36.4 (1990), pp. 2935–3055, especially pp. 3031–3033 for these conclusions.

<sup>59</sup> See D. E. Hahm in *ANRW* (1990) for an evaluation of the arguments made by H. Diels in *Doxographi Graeci* (Berlin, 1879), pp. 69–88, and those of M. Giusta in *I dossografi di etica*, 2 vols., U. di Torino Pubblicazioni della facoltà de lettere e filosofia 15 (Turin, 1964–67). In contrast to the *Epitome's* arrangement according to philosophical school, the *On Sects* of Arius Didymus seems to have been a survey of philosophy arranged topically (Hahm, pp. 1033–1034).

<sup>60</sup> *Chronicon*, p. 207 Helm: *Atticus platonicae sectae philosophus agnoscitur*. Eusebius also identifies Atticus as a Platonist in the introductions to the quotations at *PE* XI.2 and XV.4.

<sup>61</sup> Eusebius names Atticus' work when he quotes from it in *PE* XI, but he does not give a full title to the work quoted in *PE* XV, although it seems to be the same work, as K. Mras, "Zu Attikos, Porphyrios und Eusebios," *Glotta* 25 (1936), pp. 183–188, argues.

<sup>62</sup> For the fragments of Atticus, see E. des Places, *Atticus, Fragments* (Paris, 1977).



at least familiar with the commentaries on the *Timaeus* and *Phaedrus*, two works from which Eusebius frequently quotes in the *PE*.

*Corpus Hermeticum* Eusebius appears<sup>63</sup> to model the beginning of *Contra Hieroclem* 42 on the beginning of the seventh treatise in the *Corpus Hermeticum*. Treatise VII, entitled “That Ignorance of God is the Greatest Evil Among Men” (ὅτι μέγιστον κακὸν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἡ περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀγνοσία) and composed some time in the second or third century, begins: ποῖ φέρεσθε, ὦ ἄνθρωποι, μεθύνοντες, τὸν τῆς ἀφνωσίας ἄκρατον λόγον ἐκπιόντες, ὃν οὐδὲ φέρειν δύνασθε, ἀλλ’ ἤδη αὐτὸν καὶ ἐμεῖτε; στήτε νήψαντες· ἀναβλέψατε τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς τῆς καρδίας.<sup>64</sup> Eusebius writes: ἀλλὰ γὰρ πρὸς ταῦτα τῆς ἀληθείας ὁ κῆρυξ ἀναβοήσεται λέγων· ὦ ἄνθρωποι, θνητὸν καὶ ἐπίκηρον γένος, ποῖ δὴ φέρεσθε τὸν τῆς ἀγνοσίας ἄκρατον ἐμπιόντες; λήξατε ποτὲ καὶ διανήψατε τῆς μέθης, καὶ διανοίας ὀρθοῖς ὄμμασι τὸ σεμνὸν τῆς ἀληθείας ἐνοπτρίσασθε πρόσωπον.<sup>65</sup> At least one of the hermetic writings thus may have been available in the library at Caesarea.

*Diogenes Laertius* The various editors of the *PE* have pointed out several possible connections between Diogenes Laertius and Eusebius, but in each case the evidence is insufficient to show that Eusebius knew and used Diogenes. As was noted in the discussion of the quotation of Anaxagoras at X.14.12 and XIV.14.9, Gifford compares Diogenes, II.6, but there is no verbal similarity between the passages.<sup>66</sup> Mras compares two passages in his apparatus: XIV.18.32 with Diogenes, II.84 and 86; and XIV.4.14–15 with Diogenes, III.1 and 4. In both cases the similarity lies only in content, so there is no direct link between Eusebius and Diogenes. Moreover, both of

<sup>63</sup> On the disputed authorship of the *Contra Hieroclem*, see Chapter II, p. 38, note 7.

<sup>64</sup> *Corpus Hermeticum* VII.1: “Where are you going, o men, intoxicated as you are, drunk on the unmixed doctrine of ignorance, which you cannot even bear but now will vomit up? Cease and be sober! Look upward with the eyes of your heart!” See A. D. Nock, ed. and A.-J. Festugière, trans., *Corpus Hermeticum*, vol. 1, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1999), p. 81 and note 2 (to p. 82, calling the passage in Eusebius an “imitation directe”).

<sup>65</sup> Eusebius, *Contra Hieroclem* 42: “However, the herald of truth will raise his voice against such arguments, and say: O ye men, mortal and perishable race, whither are you drifting, after drinking the unmixed cup of ignorance? Be done with it at last, wake up and be sober; and, raising the eyes of your intelligence, gaze upon the august countenance of truth” (F. C. Conybeare, trans.).

<sup>66</sup> E. H. Gifford, *PE*, II.59; see M. Smith, *JTS* (1988), p. 497.

the Eusebian passages derive their information from other sources, from Aristocles in the former case and from Numenius in the latter. It is possible that these two authors are the ultimate sources of the information that Diogenes shares with Eusebius. G. Schroeder and E. des Places note a final correspondence: VII.11.13 πῦρ εἶναι τεχνικὸν ὁδῶ βαδίζον and Diogenes, VII.156 φύσιν εἶναι πῦρ τεχνικόν, ὁδῶ βαδίζον εἰς γένεσιν.<sup>67</sup> There is a verbal similarity between the two passages, but Eusebius need not have borrowed the words from Diogenes but rather found this phrasing of Stoic doctrine in a common source. Eusebius seems, therefore, to have had no knowledge of Diogenes Laertius.

*Diogenianus* Little is known of the Epicurean Diogenianus.<sup>68</sup> He likely flourished in the second century AD; Eusebius preserves what is known of his works.<sup>69</sup> For criticism of the pagan belief in oracles Eusebius quotes from Diogenianus' attack on Chrysippus' doctrine of Fate at *PE* IV.3, and for a more thorough criticism of the doctrine of Fate he quotes the same work at *PE* VI.8. There is no cause to doubt that Eusebius used Diogenianus' work firsthand and that the library of Caesarea possessed a copy of it.<sup>70</sup>

*Hippocratic Writings* In his speech on the dedication of the cathedral of Tyre, Eusebius compares Christ to the best of physicians, who "though he sees the ills yet touches the foul spots, and for another's misfortunes reaps suffering for himself" (*HE* X.4.11).<sup>71</sup> But this quotation of Hippocrates' *De flatibus* (Περὶ φύσεων) 1 need not indicate a

<sup>67</sup> G. Schroeder and E. des Places, SC #215 (Paris, 1975), p. 220.

<sup>68</sup> Modern scholars ordinarily call Diogenianus an Epicurean, even though Eusebius calls him a Peripatetic in the chapter heading of *PE* VI.8. For the arguments in favor of assigning Diogenianus to the Epicurean school, see A. Gercke, "Chrysippea," *Jahrbücher für klassische Philologie* 14 Suppl. (1885), pp. 701–703; cf. M. Isnardi Parente, "Diogeniano, gli epicurei e la 'tyche,'" *ANRW* II.36.4 (1990), pp. 2425–2426.

<sup>69</sup> J. Ferguson, revised and supplemented by J. P. Hershbell, "Epicureanism under the Roman Empire," *ANRW* II.36.4 (1990), pp. 2289–2290, and M. Isnardi Parente, *ANRW* (1990), pp. 2425–2426 agree on this broad date. A. Gercke, *Jb. cl. Philol.* (1885), pp. 748–755, reprints these fragments from Eusebius.

<sup>70</sup> J. Ferguson, *ANRW* (1990), p. 2313, asserts that Eusebius' use of Diogenianus demonstrates that Epicurean writings still circulated in the early fourth century, but this conclusion ignores the possibility that someone before Eusebius (for example, Origen) deposited the copy of Diogenianus' refutation of Chrysippus in the library of Caesarea.

<sup>71</sup> *HE* X.4.11: ὁρῇ μὲν δεινά, θιγγάνει δ' ἀηδέων ἐπ' ἀλλοτρίῃσί τε ξυμφορῇσιν ἰδίας καρπούται λύπας. The translation is Oulton's.

real familiarity with the Hippocratic corpus. The same sentence is approximately quoted by other authors, including Origen, and was probably common.<sup>72</sup>

*Longinus* A famous φιλόλογος at Athens in the third century, Cassius Longinus counted Porphyry among his pupils before Porphyry travelled to Rome and joined Plotinus.<sup>73</sup> Longinus departed from Athens ca. 267–8 and became an advisor to the newly independent Palmyrene state; he was in Phoenicia (at Tyre?) ca. 270 (*VP* 19), where he received copies of Plotinus' writings from Amelius, who was traveling to Apamea in Syria. He was executed in 273, after Aurelian returned Palmyra to Roman rule.

In his criticism of Stoic doctrine in *PE* XV Eusebius quotes once from a work by Longinus that is called, in the chapter-heading (XV.21), Λογγίνου πρὸς τῶν Στωικῶν περὶ ψυχῆς δόξαν ἀντίγησις, “Longinus’ refutation of the Stoics’ opinion on the soul.” Whether this extract comes from a work whose title is that given in the chapter-heading or from another work is unclear.<sup>74</sup> Longinus himself is credited with numerous writings, both philosophical treatises and literary studies.<sup>75</sup> But it seems impossible to prove whether Eusebius used Longinus’ work on the soul firsthand and whether the library at Caesarea contained this treatise or any other works by Longinus. Some evidence must nevertheless be considered.

Eusebius records a quotation from Porphyry at *HE* VI.19 in which Porphyry attests to the scholarly accomplishment of Origen. Within

<sup>72</sup> Origen, *CC* IV.15 (a “hackneyed quotation,” according to H. Chadwick); Plutarch, *Mor.* 291c [*Quaest. Rom.* 113]; Lucian, *Bis accus.* 1.

<sup>73</sup> Porphyry reports Plotinus’ assessment of Longinus at *VP* 14.19–20, that Longinus was a φιλόλογος but not a φιλόσοφος. For a summary of Longinus’ career, see L. Brisson, “Longin,” in L. Brisson, et al., *Porphyre, la Vie de Plotin* (Paris, 1982), I.91–95; L. Brisson and M. Patillon, “Longinus Platonicus Philosophus et Philologus,” *ANRW* II.36.7 (1994), pp. 5218–5231. For the Cassius Longinus named in Eusebius’ *Chronographia*, see the section on historians below.

<sup>74</sup> K. Mras, II.385, records Longinus’ work as περὶ ψυχῆς and refers to the collection of F. Vaucher, *Études critiques sur le traité du sublime et sur les écrits de Longin* (Geneva/Paris, 1854), fr. 3 on pp. 268–271, but Vaucher does not make a judgment on the title of the work. E. des Places, *SC* #338 (Paris, 1987), p. 328, merely repeats the reference to Vaucher.

<sup>75</sup> Porphyry names several of Longinus’ philosophical works in his *Vita Plotini*; for a catalogue of these works and a list of Longinus’ other works (drawn from the *Suidas* lexicon), see R. Goulet, “Liste des auteurs et des ouvrages cités ou mentionnés dans la *Vie de Plotin*,” in *Porphyre, la Vie de Plotin*, I.44.

this description Porphyry remarks that Origen, whom Porphyry met when young (*HE* VI.19.5), was familiar with the work of many prominent philosophers, including Longinus (*HE* VI.19.8). If this testimony is accurate (and if Porphyry does not simply include Longinus in this list of eminent Greek philosophers because Longinus was at one time his teacher), it is reasonable to surmise that Origen possessed copies of Longinus' works and that Origen brought at least some of these copies to Caesarea (including, then, Longinus' work on the soul).

When could Origen have obtained a work by Longinus? Longinus, who was born between 200 and 213, relates that he studied in Alexandria with Ammonius and Origen (the Platonist) (*VP* 20.36–40). Because Longinus does not say that he studied with Ammonius at the same time as Plotinus, it seems that Longinus studied at Alexandria before ca. 232, when Plotinus took up with Ammonius. It is possible that (a) Origen acquired works by Longinus when both were in Alexandria before ca. 232. This scenario may, however, be the less likely because of the complications of Longinus' age. It introduces the further possibility that Eusebius excerpted the passage at *PE* XV.21 from one of Origen's own works, most plausibly the *Stromateis*, a lost comparison of Greek philosophy and Christian doctrine that Origen completed while in Alexandria—that is, before 232 (cf. *HE* VI.24.3).<sup>76</sup> Longinus would thus have had to have produced a rather early philosophical work.<sup>77</sup> It is also possible that (b) Origen acquired works by Longinus after ca. 232, when Origen had settled at Caesarea. While Longinus can probably be placed in Athens at least ca. 253, when Porphyry studied with him,<sup>78</sup> it is possible that he was there much earlier, perhaps even when Origen visited the city ca. 245. In

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<sup>76</sup> Jerome, *Ep.* 70.4.3, describes the *Stromateis* as *christianorum et philosophorum inter se sententias comparans et omnia nostrae religionis dogmata de Platone et de Aristotele Numenio Cornutoque confirmans* ("comparing the opinions of Christians and philosophers with each other and confirming all the doctrines of our religion with the aid of Plato and Aristotle, Numenius, and Cornutus"). P. Nautin, *Origène*, pp. 294–295, collects the references to the extant fragments, most of which come from Jerome and are exegeses of Scripture. Nautin (p. 410) puts the date of the *Stromateis* between 222 and 229.

<sup>77</sup> For the approximate dates of Longinus' early life, see L. Brisson and M. Patillon, "Longinus Platonicus," *ANRW* (1994), pp. 5219–5221.

<sup>78</sup> The dating depends on Porphyry's age: he joined Plotinus ca. 263 when he was at the age of thirty (*VP* 4), so presumably he had begun to study with Longinus at about age twenty.

any case, from whatever source he obtained them, Origen need only have acquired copies of some of Longinus' works by the time Porphyry met Origen, ca. 250.<sup>79</sup> This cannot have been too difficult.

If Origen is not Eusebius' ultimate source for the quotation of Longinus, it is rather more difficult to determine the circumstances in which Eusebius found this quotation. Eusebius or one of his predecessors could have found Longinus' works in Phoenicia (at Tyre?), where Longinus was in ca. 270, according to his correspondence with Porphyry preserved in *VP* 19. Interestingly, this same correspondence records that Longinus met Amelius, from whom he obtained copies of Plotinus' works. Longinus, then, if, for example, he settled at Tyre, may have left there copies of his own works, copies of Plotinus' works that he obtained from Amelius, and perhaps even copies of Amelius' works. If Eusebius did not already possess the works of Longinus and Amelius that he quotes in the *PE*, then he could conceivably have consulted them (and copied them) at Tyre.<sup>80</sup>

*Numenius of Apamea* composed a number of philosophical works in the late second century AD.<sup>81</sup> Eusebius calls him a Pythagorean, though, without denial of this characteristic, Numenius ought to be considered a Middle Platonist.<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> R. Goulet, "Porphyre, Ammonius, les deux Origène et les autres . . .," *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuse* 57 (1977), pp. 485–486, unnecessarily limits Porphyry's reference to Longinus (and other philosophers) to Origen's early *Stromateis*. After all, Origen presumably used in his school the works of the philosophers named by Porphyry.

<sup>80</sup> Eusebius was, of course, not far from Tyre. He witnessed martyrdoms at Tyre during the Great Persecution (*HE* VIII.7.2), and he delivered a panegyric on the new church at Tyre in ca. 315 (*HE* X.4). But I find unpersuasive the article of P. Kalligas, "Traces of Longinus' Library in Eusebius' *Praeparatio Evangelica*," *CQ* 51 (2001), pp. 584–598, who argues that Longinus' library (which Kalligas places in Palmyra, so that it will have had to have survived Aurelian's sacking of the city) somehow furnished Eusebius with his copies of the works of Plato and the Middle Platonists cited in *PE* XI–XV. In the case of Plotinus, Eusebius chose to quote from the *Enneads* and not from some other pre-Porphyrian version: see further the section on Plotinus below. Origen was probably responsible for the Caesarean library's collection of Plato and most of the Middle Platonists.

<sup>81</sup> E. des Places, *Numénios, Fragments* (Paris, 1973), p. 5, gives the evidence for Numenius' date: the first writer to cite Numenius is Clement of Alexandria in his *Stromateis*, I.22.150.4 (which also appears at *PE* IX.6.9), which provides a *terminus ante quem* of approximately 190 to 210. M. Frede, "Numenius," *ANRW* II.36.2 (1987), pp. 1034–1035, has recently re-affirmed the date of the late second century.

<sup>82</sup> Numenius is called a Pythagorean at *PE* IX.7.1, XI.9.8, and XIV.4.16.

Eusebius provides the majority of extant fragments from the six books of Numenius' *Περὶ τὰγαθοῦ* (*De bono*), most of which appear in *PE* XI.<sup>83</sup> H. D. Saffrey has offered some interpretations of Eusebius' use of these extracts that will repay consideration here.<sup>84</sup> In three sections of *PE* XI in which Eusebius alternately quotes Plato (and Scripture) together with Numenius' *De bono* (for commentary on the previously quoted passages of Plato), Saffrey suggests that Eusebius relied on dossiers assembled by Numenius himself in his *De bono*. If, however, Eusebius did not draw on Numenius' dossiers directly, Saffrey proposes that Eusebius drew on another intermediate source, such as Clement of Alexandria or Origen, whose work contained these dossiers.<sup>85</sup> In any case, Saffrey does not countenance the possibility that Eusebius himself compiled the material of these dossiers. The first of these hypothetical dossiers consists of quotations of Plato's *Timaeus* at XI.9.4 and XI.9.7 and of Numenius' *De bono* at XI.10.1–14 that illustrate how God is Being. The second dossier includes quotations of the *Epinomis* and *Epistula* VI at XI.16.1–2 and of Numenius throughout XI.18 devoted to the topic of the Second Cause (Logos). The third dossier contains quotations of the *Timaeus* at XI.21.2 and of the *Republic* at XI.21.3–5 together with quotations of Numenius at XI.22.1–10, all concerning God as the Good.

Numenius' *De bono* does, in the three sections (what Saffrey calls dossiers) listed above, provide commentary on Plato's thought, and it is quite possible that Eusebius drew these complete dossiers directly from Numenius. This conclusion, however, is not necessarily the most likely one. Numenius' *De bono* may not have included the texts of Plato, and Eusebius could well have supplied them himself. In this case, the dossiers were not anterior to Eusebius but were rather created by Eusebius. For example, in the third dossier (*PE* XI.21–22) Eusebius seems to have been prompted to insert quotations of the texts of Plato that Numenius merely cites in his own work.<sup>86</sup> Thus,

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J. Dillon, *The Middle Platonists* (Ithaca, NY, 1977), pp. 361–379, surveys Numenius' place in Middle Platonic thought. For the influence of Numenius on Eusebius, including on his theology, see E. des Places, *Numénios Fragments*, pp. 28–32.

<sup>83</sup> See fragments 1–22 des Places.

<sup>84</sup> H. D. Saffrey, "Les extraits du *Περὶ τὰγαθοῦ* de Numénios dans le livre XI de la Préparation évangélique d'Eusèbe de Césarée," *Studia Patristica* 13 (1975), pp. 46–51, and "Un lecteur antique des oeuvres de Numénios: Eusèbe de Césarée," *Forma Futuri: studi in onore del Cardinale Michele Pellegrino* (Turin, 1975), pp. 145–153.

<sup>85</sup> H. D. Saffrey, *Studia Patristica* (1975), p. 50; *Forma Futuri*, p. 152.

<sup>86</sup> For this interpretation, see G. Favrelle in *SC* #292 (Paris, 1982), p. 335.

in the quotation of Numenius at XI.22.9, Numenius himself makes only brief reference to the passages of the *Timaeus* and *Republic* that Eusebius has already quoted at greater length in the preceding chapter. These passages of the *Timaeus* could not have been drawn from any commentary on that dialogue by Numenius, since no such commentary existed.<sup>87</sup>

Eusebius may, on the contrary, have drawn his dossiers from other sources, and Saffrey's suggestion of Origen will be considered below. Nevertheless, it is likely that Eusebius possessed Numenius' *De bono*. For, even if one accepts Saffrey's explanation of the presence of the quotations of the *De bono* in *PE* XI, Eusebius quotes from the *De bono* elsewhere in the *PE*, and these quotations suggest Eusebius' direct use of the work. At IX.7.1 and IX.8.2 (11 lines in Mras's text) Eusebius quotes Numenius for testimony of the Greek view of the Jews and their philosophy, and at XV.17.1–2 and XV.17.3–8 (26 lines in Mras's text) Eusebius uses Numenius to criticize the Stoic view of being.

Saffrey, as was noted above, suggests that Eusebius could have drawn the dossiers in *PE* XI, if not from Numenius, then from Origen, perhaps from his lost *Stromateis* in ten books.<sup>88</sup> There is no proof for this suggestion, but it is certainly plausible, since Origen was certainly well-versed in Numenius' philosophy.<sup>89</sup> On the other hand, it seems more likely that Origen brought copies of Numenius' works to Caesarea and that these copies remained in the library for Eusebius to use.<sup>90</sup> Origen may, in fact, have brought not only the *De bono* but also several other (perhaps all) of Numenius' works to

<sup>87</sup> M. Baltes, "Numenios von Apamea und der platonische Timaios," *Vigiliae Christianae* 29 (1975), pp. 241–270.

<sup>88</sup> H. D. Saffrey, *Studia Patristica* (1975), p. 50, n. 1.

<sup>89</sup> In *Ep.* 70.4.3 Jerome relates that Origen *decem scripsit Stromateas Christianorum et philosophorum inter se sententias comparans et omnia nostrae religionis dogmata de Platone et Aristotele, Numenio Cornutoque confirmans* ("wrote the *Stromateis* in ten books comparing the opinions of Christians and philosophers with each other and confirming all the doctrines of our religion with the aid of Plato and Aristotle, Numenius, and Cornutus"). Porphyry attests, in the fragment preserved by Eusebius at *HE* VI.19.8, that Origen was well-versed in Numenius' philosophy.

<sup>90</sup> L. Brisson, "Amélius," *ANRW* II.36.2 (1987), p. 809, recalls that, according to Porphyry, *VP* 3.44–45, Amelius transcribed Numenius' works; he further suggests that Amelius brought these copies with him when he came to Apamea in ca. 270 and that Eusebius obtained his copies of Numenius from this source. This scenario, however, seems much less likely than one in which Origen was responsible for depositing copies of Numenius' works at Caesarea.



Caesarea. The *De incorruptibilitate animae*, for example, is known only through a single reference made by Origen, at *Contra Celsum* V.57 (fr. 29 des Places), in which Origen claims to have read at least the second book of this work. Although Eusebius does not quote this work, it is quite possible that Origen had deposited it in the library of Caesarea.<sup>91</sup> Similarly, Origen mentions three other works by Numenius at *Contra Celsum* IV.51 (fr. 1c des Places), the *De upupa*, *De numeris*, and *De loco*, all of which may have been brought to Caesarea by Origen. Finally, at *Contra Celsum* V.38 (fr. 53 des Places), Origen refers to another work by Numenius of uncertain title that he may have brought to Caesarea.

Eusebius preserves the single extant fragment of Numenius' *De Platonis secretis* (fr. 23 des Places) at *PE* XIII.5.1–2. If Origen did bring a collection of Numenius' works to Caesarea, then Eusebius would have possessed a copy of this work and would have used it directly. The extant passage provides commentary on Plato's *Euthyphro*, from which Eusebius quotes immediately before it (at *PE* XIII.4.1–4, of *Euthyphro*, 5e6–6c7). Numenius' work may have included this extract from Plato, or Eusebius may have supplied the passage himself, or this miniature dossier may have come from an intermediary. Alternatively, Eusebius may have found Numenius' commentary as a gloss on his text of the *Euthyphro*. It is thus impossible to judge with any confidence whether Eusebius knew Numenius' *De Platonis secretis* firsthand.

In a lengthy section in *PE* XIV (chapters 5–9) Eusebius preserves the extant fragments of the *Περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἀκαδημαϊκῶν πρὸς Πλάτωνα διαστάσεως* (*De Academiae erga Platonem dissensu*), a criticism of Plato's successors at the Academy. Eusebius quotes extensively from the first book of this work, which he presumably used directly. As I have argued elsewhere,<sup>92</sup> this work also furnished the otherwise inexplicable quotation (XIV.4.16) of Sextus Empiricus, *Pyrrhoneae hypotyposes* I.220, that appears prior to Eusebius' first quotation of the *De Academiae erga Platonem dissensu*.

<sup>91</sup> H. D. Saffrey, *Studia Patristica*, pp. 49–50, implies that because Eusebius does not quote the *De incorruptibilitate animae* at *PE* XI.27ff. (a discussion of the immortality of the soul) Eusebius did not know the work. But Eusebius may have chosen not to quote Numenius in this section of *PE* XI because he preferred to quote Porphyry's *Ad Boethum de anima* (at XI.28) in order to turn the work of his pagan enemy to the advantage of his argument.

<sup>92</sup> A. J. Carriker, "Some Uses," *JTS* (1996), pp. 547–548.



*Oenomaus of Gadara* was a Cynic philosopher in the first half of the first century AD.<sup>93</sup> At *PE* V.19–36 and VI.17 Eusebius quotes approvingly from Oenomaus' attack on oracles, the Γοήτων φόρα, or *Unmasking of Charlatans*. Apart from a single line of indeterminate origin preserved by Julian the Apostate,<sup>94</sup> these extracts are the extant remains of all of Oenomaus' works.<sup>95</sup> Eusebius must certainly have had this work at hand in the library of Caesarea. J. Hammerstaedt's recent study of Oenomaus, in fact, has produced evidence that both Clement of Alexandria and Origen knew and used Oenomaus' attack on oracles, and this evidence has led Hammerstaedt to make the plausible suggestion that Origen brought his copy of Oenomaus from Alexandria to Caesarea.<sup>96</sup>

That Origen brought the Γοήτων φόρα to Caesarea is an acceptable theory. Hammerstaedt, however, implies that the library of Caesarea contained several other works by Oenomaus, since he suggests that Julian may have become acquainted with Oenomaus' writings between 342 and 348 when he lived at Fundus Macelli in Cappadocia, which, according to Hammerstaedt, is "not far from" Caesarea.<sup>97</sup> In addition to the Γοήτων φόρα (= Κατὰ τῶν χρηστηρίων),

<sup>93</sup> Eusebius, *Chronicon*, p. 198 Helm, places Oenomaus in ca. 119. The *Suidas* lexicon, which provides the name of Oenomaus' city, mistakenly makes Oenomaus a little older than Porphyry. For a discussion of the dating of Oenomaus, see J. Hammerstaedt, *Die Orakelkritik des Kynikers Oenomaus*, Athenäum Monografien Altertumswissenschaft, Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 188 (Frankfurt, 1988), pp. 11–19; also, idem, "Der Kyniker Oenomaus von Gadara," *ANRW* II.36.4 (1990), pp. 2835–2839. See also S. J. Bastomsky, "Abnimos and Oenomaus: a Question of Identity," *Apeiron* 8 (2) (1974), pp. 57–61, for the persuasive argument that Oenomaus of Gadara is identical with Abnimos of Gadara, a contemporary of Rabbi Meir, who lived in the reign of Hadrian.

<sup>94</sup> The Γοήτων φόρα should probably be identified with the Κατὰ τῶν χρηστηρίων (*Against the Oracles*) mentioned by Julian, *Or.* 7.209b (so E. des Places, SC 266 [Paris, 1980], p. 8 and n. 5; J. Hammerstaedt, *Die Orakelkritik*, pp. 41–47; Idem, *ANRW* (1990), p. 2844).

<sup>95</sup> The sixteen fragments from Eusebius are edited anew by J. Hammerstaedt, *Die Orakelkritik*, pp. 70–108 with commentary on pp. 109–307. Hammerstaedt's fr. 17, from Julian, *Or.* 6.187c, appears on p. 30.

<sup>96</sup> Clement seems to have used Oenomaus in the *Protrepticus* and *Stromateis* (*Die Orakelkritik*, pp. 19–24; *ANRW*, pp. 2839–2841). Origen seems to have used it in his *Contra Celsum* (*Die Orakelkritik*, pp. 25–28; *ANRW*, p. 2842). For the suggestion that Origen brought writings of Oenomaus to Caesarea, see *Die Orakelkritik*, p. 27, and *ANRW* (1990), p. 2842.

<sup>97</sup> J. Hammerstaedt, *Die Orakelkritik*, pp. 27–28; on p. 28, Hammerstaedt says that

Julian mentions these works by Oenomaus: the *Αὐτοφωνία τοῦ κυνός* (*Direct Utterance of the Cynic*) (which Hammerstaedt identifies with the *Περὶ κυνισμοῦ*, *On Cynicism*, named by the *Suidas* lexicon), a work against Crates (which Hammerstaedt identifies with the *Περὶ Κράτητος καὶ Διογένους καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν*, *On Crates, Diogenes, and the Others*, named by the *Suidas* lexicon), and tragedies.<sup>98</sup> If Hammerstaedt is correct about Julian's knowledge of Oenomaus, then, all of the works named by Julian would have been in the collection of the library of Caesarea. But Hammerstaedt must be confusing Palestinian Caesarea with the Caesarea in Cappadocia, since Caesarea Maritima is hardly close to Cappadocia. There is thus no reason to expect that what Julian read at Fundus Macelli was copied from exemplars in Caesarea. If Julian did read Oenomaus in Cappadocia, it is more likely that his copy was lent to him by George of Cappadocia.<sup>99</sup> On the other hand, Julian may instead have discovered Oenomaus while a student in Athens. One cannot, therefore, be sure that the library of Caesarea possessed any more of Oenomaus' works than the *Γοήτων φόρα*, even though, if Origen was responsible for bringing copies of Oenomaus' writings to Caesarea, the library may have contained some other works by Oenomaus.

*Philostratus of Athens* In approximately the year 217 Philostratus composed a romantic *vita* of the philosopher and wonder-worker Apollonius of Tyana.<sup>100</sup> This work served as the material from which, shortly before 303, Sossianus Hierocles produced his *Truth-Loving Discourse*, the *Φιλαλήθης λόγος*, a comparison of Apollonius with Jesus intended to undermine the Christian faith.<sup>101</sup> Eusebius, in turn, replied with

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Fundus Macelli is "unweit von Caesarea." See also Hammerstaedt, *ANRW* (1990), p. 2842, for the same suggestion; this time Hammerstaedt says that Fundus Macelli is "in der Nähe von Caesarea."

<sup>98</sup> The entry on Oenomaus in the *Suidas* lexicon also lists a *Πολιτεία* (*Republic*) and a work *Περὶ τῆς καθ' Ὅμηρον φιλοσοφίας* (*On Philosophy according to Homer*). For a survey of Oenomaus' works, see J. Hammerstaedt, *ANRW* (1990), pp. 2844–2853. Hammerstaedt attributes fr. 17, from Julian, *Or.* 6.187c, to the *Αὐτοφωνία* (*Die Orakelkritik*, p. 30; *ANRW*, p. 2850).

<sup>99</sup> Julian, *Ep.* 23 (378C), relates that George lent him books while he was in Cappadocia. Later, after George was killed in Alexandria, Julian endeavored to acquire his library.

<sup>100</sup> Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii*, 1.3, reports that he was asked to write Apollonius' biography by the empress Julia Domna, who died in 217.

<sup>101</sup> For the date of this work, see M. Forrat, *SC* #333 (1986), pp. 18–20; also J. G. Cook, *The Interpretation of the New Testament in Greco-Roman Paganism*, Studien

the *Contra Hieroclem*, a refutation of Hierocles' use of Philostratus' *Vita Apollonii*.<sup>102</sup> Accordingly, Eusebius closely examines Philostratus' work; it is, in fact, the only biography of Apollonius that Eusebius utilizes for his *Contra Hieroclem*.<sup>103</sup> On the basis of a reference made by Origen in his *Contra Celsum* (VI.41), however, it appears that another biography of Apollonius was available to Eusebius, the *Τὰ Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Τυανέως μάγου καὶ φιλοσόφου ἀπομνημονεύματα* (*Memoirs of the Magician and Philosopher Apollonius of Tyana*) by Moeragenes.<sup>104</sup> The library of Caesarea thus seems to have included a copy of Moeragenes' biography of Apollonius as well as copies of Philostratus' *Vita Apollonii Tyanensis* and Hierocles' *Φιλαλήθης λόγος*.

*Plato and Ps-Plato* Eusebius quotes extensively in the *PE* from a number of Platonic and pseudo-Platonic dialogues.<sup>105</sup> From *Alcibiades I* Eusebius draws a single quotation (XI.27.5) that curiously contains eight lines absent from the manuscript tradition (although Stobaeus also includes these lines). Eusebius inserts two quotations of the *Apologia* into the same chapter, XIII.10. A large part of the *Cratylus* is utilized in XI.6. Eusebius draws from the *Crito* in XIII.6–9. Four

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und Texte zu Antike und Christentum 3 (Tübingen, 2000), pp. 253–254. On the title of this work, see T. Hägg, “Hierocles the Lover of Truth and Eusebius the Sophist,” *SO* 67 (1992), pp. 140–143; Hägg suggests further that the words *πρὸς Χριστιανούς* formed part of the title: “A Truth-loving [or Truthful] Discourse Directed to the Christians.” Eusebius refers to Hierocles at *M.Pal.* [L] 5.3, but does not there mention Hierocles' work.

<sup>102</sup> E. Junod, “Polémique chrétienne contre Apollonius de Tyane,” *Revue de théologie et de philosophie* 120 (1988), pp. 479–482, points out that the title *Contra Hieroclem*, though commonly accepted, is inaccurate; the true title, according to the evidence of the manuscripts, would have specified that Eusebius' treatise was a response to Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* and the comparison of Apollonius with Jesus Christ made by Hierocles. It may again be noted (see Chapter II, p. 38, note 7) that T. Hägg, *SO* (1992), pp. 144–150, has questioned whether Eusebius of Caesarea is in fact the author of the *Contra Hieroclem*. T. D. Barnes, “Eusebius v. Caesarea,” *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* 3 (1995), col. 1009, accepts Hägg's argument; J. G. Cook, *Interpretation of the New Testament*, pp. 255–258, is more cautious and does not reject the traditional attribution. So, too, here, while Hägg offers good reason to doubt Eusebian authorship, he has not (as he admits on p. 149) disproved it, and so I proceed on the assumption that the *Contra Hieroclem* must still be ascribed to Eusebius of Caesarea.

<sup>103</sup> *Contra Hier.*, 4: *μόνην δὲ ἐπισκεψώμεθα τὴν τοῦ Φιλοστράτου γράφην*. . . .

<sup>104</sup> On this Moeragenes, see E. L. Bowie, “Apollonius of Tyana: Tradition and Reality,” *ANRW* II.16.2 (1978), pp. 1673–1679.

<sup>105</sup> Cf. E. des Places, *Commentateur*, pp. 17–37. Des Places includes in his catalogue of quotations from Plato not only indirect borrowings but also allusions, and thus he records possible uses of the *Hippias Maior* and *Lysis* (p. 19).

*Epistulae* are used five times: *Ep.* II twice, at XI.20.2 and XII.7.1; *Ep.* VI at XI.16.2; *Ep.* VII at XI.12.2; and *Ep.* XIII at XI.13.4. From the *Euthyphro* Eusebius produces only one quotation (XIII.4.1–4), which is linked to a quotation of commentary upon it by Numenius in his *De Platonis secretis* (XIII.5.1–2). Eusebius quotes from the final myth in the *Gorgias* at XI.6 and XIII.16. Numerous quotations, including at least one from every book, come from the *Leges* and are used primarily in books XII and XIII. Quotations of the *Phaedo* appear at I.8; XI.27 and 37–38; XIII.16; and XIV.15. Eusebius provides quotations of the *Phaedrus* at XIII.16.8 and XIII.20. Only two quotations of the *Philebus* are given, at XII.51 and XIV.22. Eusebius quotes from the *Politicus* at XI.32.5–11; XI.33–34; XIII.8.4; and XIII.13–14. Every book of the *Respublica* is represented, the quotations coming largely in books XII and XIII (though also II.7; XI.21 and 35; and XIV.13). From the *Sophista* Eusebius draws two quotations at XIV.4.8 and 9–11. Three quotations come from the *Symposium* at XII.11 and 12.2–3. Quotations of the *Theaetetus* appear at XII.29; XII.45.1; and XIV.4. Eusebius quotes from the central chapters of the *Timaeus* throughout XI and XIII (though also at X.4.19 and II.7). Finally, Eusebius draws a number of quotations from the *Epinomis* in books X, XI, and XIII.

The length of Eusebius' quotations of Plato, as well as their general reliability, suggest that Eusebius knew many of these works firsthand.<sup>106</sup> Philosophy, however, like poetry, was often transmitted through intermediaries. It is already evident that Eusebius made use of doxographies, compilations of philosophical opinions arranged by topic or by individual philosopher, such as the *Epitome* of Arius Didymus and the *Placita* of Ps-Plutarch. Eusebius may have also had at his disposal handbooks of philosophy like Alcinoos' systematic guide to Platonic doctrine, the *Didaskalikos*, though there is no direct evidence of this. A collection of quotations from Plato's dialogues would certainly have

<sup>106</sup> P. Henry, *Recherches sur la Préparation Évangélique d'Eusèbe et l'édition perdue des oeuvres de Plotin publiée par Eustochius* (Paris, 1935), pp. 16–26, has been the great defender of Eusebius' fidelity in quoting sources. He cites as an example Eusebius' direct quotation of *Theaetetus* 173c5–174a2 at *PE* XII.29 and his direct quotation of Clement, *Stromateis*, V.14.98 at *PE* XIII.13.20, in which Eusebius faithfully records Clement's altered version of Plato's passage. E. R. Dodds, *Plato, Gorgias* (Oxford, 1959), pp. 64–65, however, laments Eusebius' carelessness, at least with regard to his quotations of the *Gorgias*, though Dodds does not seem to challenge the idea that Eusebius used Plato firsthand.

been an even more practical aid to Eusebius' work. Some modern scholars have already made suggestions about the hypothetical composition of such Platonic florilegia.

H. Chadwick devotes a short section of his general treatment of florilegia in antiquity to the existence of Platonic florilegia.<sup>107</sup> He refers to A. Elter's conjecture that Eusebius utilized a collection of quotations of Plato, as well as P. Canivet's hypothetical florilegium used in the early fifth century by Theodoret.<sup>108</sup> Canivet determined the form of this florilegium by assembling the quotations of Plato that derived from neither Clement nor Eusebius, since Theodoret excerpted Platonic quotations from both of these authors. The proposed florilegium's most significant contents concern the topics of God (especially His nature, identity as Creator, Providence, and the Trinity) and man (especially regarding the soul, its nature and immortality). Chadwick himself provides a more general list of the passages likely to have been incorporated into a Platonic florilegium, broadly devoted to the subjects of God, the soul, and the nature of the universe.

Despite the lack of direct evidence, there remains a possibility that Platonic florilegia circulated in Eusebius' time.<sup>109</sup> When the catalogue

<sup>107</sup> H. Chadwick, "Florilegium," *RAC* VII (1969), cols. 1142–1143.

<sup>108</sup> A. Elter, *De Gnomologiorum Graecorum historia atque origine, corollarium Eusebianum* (Bonn, 1894–95), who supports his claim by pointing to the number of passages quoted by Eusebius that are also quoted by previous writers (for example, *Leg.* 715e) or are also quoted by Stobaeus (especially passages from the *Timaeus*); P. Canivet, *Histoire d'une entreprise apologétique au V<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1958), pp. 271–287.

<sup>109</sup> But J. H. Waszink has expressed doubt about the existence of Platonic florilegia, since no direct evidence attests them. Rather, according to Waszink, philosophical handbooks were used together with the complete text of Plato ("Some Observations on the Appreciation of 'the Philosophy of the Barbarians' in Early Christian Literature," *Mélanges Christine Mohrmann* [Utrecht-Anvers, 1963], p. 42). More recently, J. Dillon, "The Academy in the Middle Platonic Period," *Dionysius* III (1979), p. 68 [= *The Golden Chain* (London, 1990), III], has observed that there is no evidence of a "handbook of Platonic passages on the various topics going the rounds, but there was certainly a series of set passages always used to illustrate the same themes." It is unclear whether Eusebius' predecessors, the early Christian apologists, utilized Plato directly or through intermediaries, including florilegia: cf. E. des Places, *Studia Patristica* 5 (1962), p. 474 [= *Ét. plat.* (Leiden, 1981), p. 214], citing J. Geffcken, *Zwei griechische Apologeten* (Leipzig, 1907), pp. xvii and 251–253 (against direct usage by early apologists); R. M. Grant, ed., *Theophilus of Antioch, Ad Autolyicum* (Oxford, 1970), pp. xi–xii (some direct usage by Theophilus, and some use of handbooks); W. R. Schoedel, ed., *Athenagoras, Legatio and De Resurrectione* (Oxford, 1972), p. xix, and L. W. Barnard, *Athenagoras: a Study in Second Century Christian Apologetic* (Paris, 1972), pp. 39–43 (use of doxographies by Athenagoras, but possibly some direct usage). Ps.-Justin apparently knew some dialogues firsthand: see C. Riedweg, *Ps.-Justin (Markell von Ankyra?)* (Basel, 1994), pp. 72–73.

of Eusebius' quotations is compared to the contents of the various hypothetical florilegia, however, it becomes clear that Eusebius did not rely on any identifiable, limited collection of texts. The most important topics in Canivet's proposed florilegium may be examined first. In the section on the nature of God, two texts (*Tim.* 28c3–5 and *Ep.* VII.341c6) appear in longer extracts given by Eusebius (XI.29.2–4 and XI.12.2, respectively) and are both popular texts.<sup>110</sup> A third passage (*Ep.* II.314a1–7) Theodoret draws directly from Eusebius,<sup>111</sup> but it is not otherwise quoted in the Christian era before Eusebius, and so it is difficult to believe that the passage had already been selected for inclusion in a florilegium. Canivet's remaining texts under this heading do not even appear in Eusebius. In the section on God the Creator, divine Providence, and evil, Theodoret drew *Tim.* 31a1–4 from Eusebius,<sup>112</sup> and the passages of the *Leges* and *Respublica* can be found within even longer extracts given by Eusebius. The other passages, from the *Phaedrus*, *Politicus*, and *Theaetetus*, do not appear in Eusebius. In the section on God the Trinity, the two passages from the *Epistulae* (*Ep.* VI.323d1–5 and *Ep.* II.312d7–e4) are quoted by numerous other authors, including Eusebius.<sup>113</sup> The quotation of the *Epinomis* (986c1–7), however, first appears in Eusebius, from whom Theodoret draws his extract, and it thus seems doubtful that this passage was included in a florilegium already circulating in Eusebius' time. Canivet's final passage under this heading, *Resp.* VI.494a, does not appear in Eusebius. In the sections on man's soul, only the quotations of the *Phaedo* (79–80 and 114) and of *Alcibiades I* occur in Eusebius.

Canivet's hypothetical florilegium includes a number of admittedly oft-cited texts, and the topical arrangement under the categories of God and man is reasonable, yet either Eusebius neglects to quote many of the proposed texts, an indication that he was not relying

<sup>110</sup> On *Tim.* 28c3–5, cf. Athenagoras, *Legatio* 6.2; Celsus in Origen, *CC* VII.42. On *Ep.* VII.341c6, cf. Clement, *Stromateis*, V.77.1; Origen, *CC* VI.3.

<sup>111</sup> So K. Mras, II.96. P. Canivet, *Histoire*, p. 185, however, argues that the variant readings between Plato and Eusebius show a lack of dependence.

<sup>112</sup> Again, K. Mras, II.32, admits Theodoret's dependence on Eusebius, but Canivet, *Histoire*, p. 207, objects.

<sup>113</sup> For *Ep.* VI.323d1–5, cf. Plotinus at *PE* XI.17.9; Clement, *Stromateis*, V.102.4; Origen, *CC* VI.8. Eusebius uses this passage to support his argument about the Second Cause (Logos). For *Ep.* II.312d7–e4, cf. Plotinus at *PE* XI.17.9; Clement, *Stromateis*, V.103.1 (= *PE* XIII.13.29) and *Protrepticus*, VI.68.4; Justin, *Apol.*, 60.7; Celsus in Origen, *CC* VI.18.

heavily on such a florilegium, or he provides much longer extracts of the proposed texts, an indication that Eusebius did not confine himself to brief passages. A similar situation occurs in Chadwick's hypothetical florilegium. While Chadwick surely did not intend to offer his list of the "most influential" passages as an absolute test against which to judge Eusebius' knowledge of Plato, it becomes clear in this case that Eusebius knew more of Plato's text than simply the most influential passages.

Chadwick's proposed florilegium contains *Tim.* 21ff., 28, 40–41, 69, and 90. Of these sections, Eusebius does not quote from 21, 69, or 90, but he quotes once from 28a–c and repeatedly from 40–41; Eusebius also quotes once from 22b, at *PE* X.4.19, perhaps prompted by Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis* I.69.3. Additionally, Eusebius quotes from much of the intervening text between 28 and 40. From the *Theaetetus*, Chadwick lists only section 176, which Eusebius includes in a longer quotation (173c6–177b7 at *PE* XII.29). But Eusebius also produces quotations from 151–153 and 179–181. Of the *Phaedrus*, the hypothetical florilegium contains sections 245–250. Apart from allusions, Eusebius quotes only once from these sections, at *PE* XIII.16.8 (248e7–249b6). But Eusebius also quotes from sections 255–256 (*PE* XIII.20). From the *Respublica* Chadwick lists sections 227–236, 508–518, and 612–617. Eusebius does not quote from the first group of these sections, quotes only once from the second (from 508–509 at *PE* XI.21), and quotes once from the third (from 614 at *PE* XI.35) together with an allusion (to 617e4–5 at *PE* VI.6.50). More important, Eusebius provides numerous other quotations from throughout the *Respublica*, a testament to his thorough acquaintance with the work. Chadwick includes in his florilegium only section 273 of the *Politicus*. Eusebius quotes much of this section at *PE* XI.34, but he also quotes from 261e (*PE* XII.8.4) and variously from 269–272 throughout *PE* XI–XII. Of the *Phaedo*, the florilegium would include sections 67–69, 79–81, and 109–110. Eusebius does not quote from the first section, but he quotes most of the other two sections at *PE* XI.27 and 37. Again, though, he furnishes additional quotations: from sections 82, 96–99, 111, and 113–114. From the *Leges*, Chadwick lists 715e, a passage often quoted by Church Fathers, although by none at as great length as Eusebius.<sup>114</sup> Further, in the *PE* Eusebius

<sup>114</sup> Cf. E. des Places, "La tradition indirecte des *Lois* de Platon (livres I–VI),"



quotes so extensively from the *Leges* that it is difficult to imagine that he did not have recourse to the actual text of the work. Finally, of the *Epistulae*, Chadwick lists *Ep.* II.312e and *Ep.* VII.341–342. He might have added another passage, *Ep.* VI.323c–d, that was, like the two above, often quoted by Church Fathers, including Eusebius.<sup>115</sup> But the fact that Eusebius also quotes another passage from *Ep.* II (314a1–7 at *PE* XII.7.1) in addition to a passage from *Ep.* XIII (363b1–6 at *PE* XI.13.4), both of which are not quoted in the extant literature of the Christian Era before Eusebius, suggests that Eusebius actually had firsthand knowledge of the text of these letters.

It may be safest to assume that the library of Caesarea possessed complete editions of the *Timaeus*,<sup>116</sup> *Theaetetus*,<sup>117</sup> *Phaedrus*, *Respublica*, *Politicus*,<sup>118</sup> *Phaedo*,<sup>119</sup> *Leges*,<sup>120</sup> and *Epp.* II, VI, VII, and XIII (and, possibly, the whole of the *Epistulae*). Add to this list dialogues that are largely absent from the contents of hypothetical Platonic florilegia, the *Apologia*, *Cratylus*,<sup>121</sup> *Crito*, *Gorgias*,<sup>122</sup> *Philebus*,<sup>123</sup> *Sophista*, *Symposium*, and *Epinomis*. The evidence of the *Contra Celsum*, moreover, indicates

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*Mélanges J. Saunier* (Lyons, 1944), pp. 206–207 (= *Études platoniciennes* [Leiden, 1981], pp. 34–35) for a list of authors who cite this passage.

<sup>115</sup> For authors who cite *Ep.* II.312e and *Ep.* VI.323c–d, see note 113 on p. 101. Regarding *Ep.* VII.341–342, cf. Clement, *Stromateis*, V.77.1 for the quotation of 341c6–d2, which also is quoted by Eusebius at *PE* XI.12.2; also, the same passage in part by Celsus in Origen, *CC* VI.3.

<sup>116</sup> Cf. G. Favrelle, *SC* #292 (Paris, 1982), pp. 293–349, who acknowledges that Eusebius concentrates on only part of the dialogue, a part that was well-known in the period, and that Eusebius does not give long quotations (for example, over a page, as he does of other dialogues). Nevertheless, she appears to grant that Eusebius used the *Timaeus* directly (cf. pp. 295 and 330).

<sup>117</sup> E. des Places, *Commentateur*, p. 24, who maintains that the extent of Eusebius' quotations of the *Theaetetus* denotes a complete reading of the dialogue.

<sup>118</sup> Cf. G. Favrelle, *SC* #292 (Paris, 1982), pp. 374–379.

<sup>119</sup> Cf. G. Favrelle, *SC* #292 (Paris, 1982), pp. 379–385.

<sup>120</sup> E. des Places has made numerous studies of Eusebius' use of the *Leges*. For example, in *Mélanges J. Saunier* (Lyons, 1944), pp. 27–40 (= *Études platoniciennes* [Leiden, 1981], pp. 199–212); “La tradition indirecte des *Lois* de Platon (livres VII–XII),” *Studia Patristica* 5 (TU 80) (1962), pp. 473–479 (= *Études platoniciennes*, pp. 213–219); “Le *Lois* de Platon et la *Préparation Évangélique* d'Eusèbe de Césarée,” *Aegyptus* 32 (1952), pp. 223–231 (= *Études platoniciennes*, pp. 220–228); “La tradition patristique de Platon (spécialement d'après les citations des *Lois* et de l'*Epinomis* dans la *Préparation évangélique* d'Eusèbe de Césarée),” *REG* 80 (1967), pp. 385–394 (= *Études platoniciennes*, pp. 249–258).

<sup>121</sup> G. Favrelle, *SC* #292 (Paris, 1982), pp. 282–293, especially p. 282.

<sup>122</sup> See the discussion below.

<sup>123</sup> A search of the TLG databank reveals that no other authors prior to Eusebius in the Christian Era quote the same passages as Eusebius.



that many of these dialogues were already available to Origen at Caesarea. One independent examination of Origen's *Contra Celsum* has shown that Origen used the *Phaedo*, *Phaedrus*, *Respublica*, and *Leges* directly and not through intermediaries.<sup>124</sup> Origen's use of other dialogues suggests that the same may be true of the *Timaeus*, *Apologia*, *Ep. VI*, *Symposium*, and *Theaetetus*, and perhaps other works of Plato.<sup>125</sup> Origen may in fact be the source of all of the works of Plato contained in the library at Caesarea.

Two dialogues remain, the *Euthyphro* and *Alcibiades I*. Eusebius quotes from the *Euthyphro* only once, at *PE XIII.4.1-4* (5e6-6c7), to which is attached a commentary on the passage by Numenius (the single extant fragment of the *De Platonis secretis*, at *PE XIII.5.1-2*). Here it is impossible to determine whether Eusebius used the *Euthyphro* firsthand from a complete text (and perhaps the quotation of Numenius formed part of the scholia to the text) or whether he drew the passage from an intermediary, possibly from Numenius' own work. The quotation of *Alcibiades I*, 133c1-16 (*PE XI.27.5*), is rather more curious. The only quotation Eusebius takes from the dialogue, it includes eight lines that appear in Stobaeus' version (III.21.24) of the passage a hundred years later. The lines, however, are absent from the extant manuscript tradition, an example, it seems, of the disjunction between ancient texts and the medieval textual tradition.<sup>126</sup> Perhaps the lines are not to be judged genuine, but there is no evidence to show whether Eusebius used the dialogue directly or not.<sup>127</sup>

While Eusebius most likely availed himself of the complete texts of the dialogues listed above, with the possible exceptions of the *Euthyphro* and *Alcibiades I*, it is not necessary to exclude altogether the possibility that he also had at his disposal some form of Platonic

<sup>124</sup> K. Romaniuk, "Le Platon d'Origène," *Aegyptus* 41 (1961), pp. 44-73. Romaniuk argues that, when Origen composed the *Contra Celsum*, he at first read the corresponding texts of Plato that Celsus cited in his tract but then later simply relied on his memory (cf. *CC* praef. 6). Direct familiarity with texts of Plato was required.

<sup>125</sup> For example, see *CC* IV.20 (*Tim.* 22d); VI.10 (*Tim.* 41a); VIII.8 (*Apol.* 30c-d); VI.8 (*Ep.* VI.323d); VI.12 (*Ep.* VI 322d-e); IV.39 (*Symp.* 203b-e); IV.62 (*Theae.* 176a). See G. Dorival, "L'apport d'Origène pour la connaissance de la philosophie grecque," *Origeniana Quinta* (1992), p. 194, for other citations, including references to *Ep. VII*, *Philebus*, *Crito*, and *Gorgias*.

<sup>126</sup> A. C. Clark, *The Descent of Manuscripts* (Oxford, 1918), p. 404, points out that Stobaeus' text even has two more passages that are absent from extant manuscripts, *Alcib. I*, 128a and 115e.

<sup>127</sup> Cf. G. Favrelle, *SC* #292 (Paris, 1982), pp. 350-374.

florilegia. Such collections of texts, especially those texts which demonstrated support for Christian beliefs, in fact, may have prompted Eusebius to include certain quotations in his work. For example, in *PE* XI Eusebius presents evidence that the Greeks affirm Christian beliefs about God as the First Cause (XI.9–13), as the Second Cause (Logos) (XI.14–19), and as three hypostases (XI.20). Within these dossiers Eusebius cites three well-known passages from Plato's *Epistulae*: *Ep.* VII.341c6–d2 at XI.12.2 as proof that Plato admitted the indescribability of God; *Ep.* VI.323c7–d6 at XI.16.2 as evidence that Plato acknowledged a First Cause as father of a Second; *Ep.* II.312d7–e6 at XI.20.2 as the single testimony that Plato accepted a divine trinity. Because these three passages were so commonly used by previous writers, it is possible that they were included in a florilegium devoted to Plato's conception of the divine and that Eusebius himself used such a florilegium.

Nevertheless, Eusebius' treatment of the First Cause and Second Cause ought not to be ascribed *entirely* to any florilegium or intermediary. Other evidence suggests that Eusebius himself compiled the dossiers. First, Eusebius quotes from a variety of authors whose works were available at Caesarea. Thus, Eusebius quotes from Numenius' *De bono*, from Plotinus, and from Philo's *De confusione linguarum*,<sup>128</sup> in addition to the *Timaeus* and *Leges*. It is improbable that Eusebius relied on an intermediary for extracts that he could find in accurate versions in his library.<sup>129</sup> Second, Eusebius also quotes in this section from Plato's *Ep.* XIII, a passage that is not quoted by an earlier author in the extant literature of the Christian Era and so does not seem to have been one of the more influential texts that would be found in florilegia.<sup>130</sup> As was suggested above, Eusebius may have possessed a complete text of this letter and possibly of all of the Platonic letters. If Eusebius did employ Platonic florilegia, he most likely relied on them only insofar as they recalled to him appropriate

<sup>128</sup> At *PE* XI.15.7 Eusebius mistakenly identifies his source as the *Quod deterius*—but Eusebius possessed both the *Quod deterius* and the *De confusione* (cf. *HE* II.18.1–2; also, the section on Philo in Chapter VI), so the mistake need not arouse suspicion.

<sup>129</sup> One passage in this dossier comes from a fragment of Amelius, quoted only by Eusebius. In the discussion of Amelius (above) it is argued that Caesarea contained Amelius' work and that Eusebius used the work directly.

<sup>130</sup> Cf. G. Favreille, SC #292 (Paris, 1982), p. 345, who emphasizes that the linking of the three Platonic passages at *PE* XI.13 (*Tim.* 31a1–; *Ep.* XIII.363b1–6; *Leg.* IV.715e7–716b5) is unprecedented among the Christian apologists.

passages that he could consult firsthand and perhaps then expand.<sup>131</sup>

Another series of texts that could have derived from a florilegium is that concerned with the judgment of the soul and its after-life. Again, however, there is no clear evidence that connects these quotations to a florilegium. Eusebius treats these topics at *PE* XI.33–38 with passages from the *Politicus*, *Respublica*, and *Phaedo*, as well as one quotation from Plutarch's *De anima*. Eusebius quotes other passages related to these topics at *PE* XII.6 (from the *Gorgias*) and XIII.16.4–16 (from the *Phaedrus*, *Phaedo*, and *Gorgias*). While Eusebius likely had the full texts of the *Phaedo* and *Respublica*, as well as the *Phaedrus* and *Politicus*, it is noteworthy that Eusebius only quotes from the *Gorgias* with regard to the topics of judgment and the after-life, and from only sections 523–527, the final myth. Yet, Eusebius could simply have compiled his quotations on these topics himself. Even a recent examination of the possible link between the text of the *Phaedo* at XIII.16.15 (also at XI.38.6) and the text of the *Gorgias* at XIII.16.16, with emphasis on the Christianization of the text of the *Phaedo*, has elicited no evidence that the two passages came from a florilegium or any other intermediary.<sup>132</sup>

Although the possibility that Eusebius utilized Platonic florilegia, then, cannot be rejected, it is necessary to append some further observations on how Eusebius decided to make certain quotations of Plato. One ought first to recognize, of course, that Eusebius was a learned man and was doubtlessly conversant with Plato's dialogues. He surely knew himself which passages would serve his apology. Nevertheless, Eusebius may have been prompted to quote Plato by other sources. For example, the quotations of *Epp.* VII, VI, and II in the treatment of God as First Cause, Second Cause (Logos), and

<sup>131</sup> Cf. W. C. van Unnik, "Two Notes on Irenaeus," *Vigiliae Christianae* 30 (1976), pp. 201–209, who draws a connection between Irenaeus' quotation at *Adv. haer.*, III.25.5 of *Leg.* IV.715e–716a and *Tim.* 29e and Atticus' use of the same passages (preserved at *PE* XV.5.2) and suggests that a Platonic florilegium on the topic of God underlies the two. Van Unnik explains that Atticus, unlike Irenaeus, probably knew firsthand the two dialogues of Plato quoted and was therefore able to expand the passages derived from the florilegium. If writers like Atticus did compose in such a manner, one can expect Eusebius to have done the same.

<sup>132</sup> G. Favrelle, SC #292 (1982), pp. 379–385. The text of *Phaedo* 114c reproduced by Eusebius each time changes *ἀνευ τε σωμάτων ζῶσι* ("they live without bodies") into a, for a Christian, more palatable *ἀνευ τε καμάτων ζῶσι* ("they live without toil"). Eusebius himself is probably responsible for the alteration. Elsewhere in Eusebius' text there are Christianizations, but these also do not necessarily suggest the use of an intermediary: for example, at *Resp.* II.380c6 (at *PE* XIII.3.18)

Trinity discussed above may have been inspired not by a Platonic florilegium but by an earlier writer, especially a Christian writer, who either alluded to the passage or quoted the same passage.<sup>133</sup> More specifically, Clement of Alexandria's *Stromateis* I.69.3 may have prompted Eusebius' use of *Timaeus* 22b4–9 at *PE* X.4.19 (the quotations are approximately the same); but then Eusebius added two passages from the *Epinomis* (986e9–987a6 and 987d8–e2 at *PE* X.4.21–22) before returning to Clement, *Stromateis* I.69.5 for a quotation of Democritus at *PE* X.4.23 (the texts are again only approximately the same). Similarly, when Eusebius quotes from the *Phaedo* regarding the soul's after-life at XI.37, he may in fact have been influenced by Origen's use of the same passage in the *Contra Celsum*.<sup>134</sup> Eusebius' pagan sources, however, also helped. As was noted in the discussion of Numenius above, quotations of *Tim.* 29e and *Resp.* 508–509 at *PE* XI.21 may have been prompted by Numenius' allusions to these passages in his *De bono* (and quoted by Eusebius at *PE* XI.22.9). Again, the quotation of *Tim.* 27d6–28a4 at *PE* XI.9.4 may have been prompted by Numenius' allusion to this same passage (within a quotation at *PE* XI.10.10). Perhaps even Celsus' attack on Christianity provided references to matching quotations of Scripture and Plato that Eusebius used in *PE* XII.<sup>135</sup>

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Eusebius changes θεούς into θεοῦ, though in the same quotation (XIII.3.26) there is no change to a reference to "gods"; *Leg.* 904e4 (at *PE* XII.52.28) contains a line of Homer (*Od.* XIX.43) in which βροτῶν replaces θεῶν. For some general observations on the manner in which the text of Plato was interpolated by readers, cf. J. Dillon, "Tampering with the *Timaeus*: Ideological Emendations in Plato, with Special Reference to the *Timaeus*," *AJP* 110 (1989), 50–72 [= *The Golden Chain* (London, 1990), V]; J. Whittaker, "The Value of Indirect Tradition in the Establishment of Greek Philosophical Texts or the Art of Misquotation," *Editing Greek and Latin Texts: Papers Given at the Twenty-third Annual Conference on Editorial Problems, University of Toronto, 6–7 November 1987*, J. N. Grant, ed. (New York, 1989), pp. 63–95.

<sup>133</sup> Eusebius did not derive any of his quotations of the *Epistulae* from any of the earlier authors who also cite the same passages, except, perhaps, for *Ep.* VII.341c6–d2 (*PE* XI.12.2), which is also quoted by Clement, *Stromateis*, V.77.1. By comparison of methodology, it interesting that many years later St. John Damascene seems to have used for the third part of his *Fount of Knowledge* the work of Maximus Confessor as a guide, although he went back to the original texts for his quotations. See A. Louth, "Palestine under the Arabs 650–750: the Crucible of Byzantine Orthodoxy," *The Holy Land, Holy Lands, and Christian History*, R. N. Swanson, ed., Studies in Church History 36 (Suffolk, 2000), pp. 71–72.

<sup>134</sup> Origen, *CC* VII.28–30, replies with, among other Scriptural passages, Ps. 36:11 and Is. 54:11–12 to Celsus' use of *Phaedo* 109a–b. Eusebius uses these same texts, as well as others.

<sup>135</sup> Origen, *CC* VI.1, relates that Celsus compared passages of Scripture and Plato; cf. H. Chadwick, *R4C* (1969), col. 1143.

Eusebius' direct quotation of Plato's dialogues reveals that the library at Caesarea contained a large number of important texts. The library naturally includes the preeminent texts of Middle Platonism, the *Timaeus*, *Respublica*, *Phaedrus*, *Theaetetus*, *Phaedo*, *Philebus*, and *Leges*.<sup>136</sup> The *Parmenides* is perhaps the most significant absence, though there are many other works by Plato (or attributed to Plato) that go unattested by Eusebius. Not a few of them may yet have been at Caesarea.

*Plotinus* Born in 205, Plotinus studied at Alexandria under Ammonius between 232 and 243; he then settled at Rome in 244, where he lectured in philosophy until 269, at which time he withdrew to Campania, dying in 270.<sup>137</sup> Plotinus did not begin to write down his philosophical treatises until 254, and, although his works circulated in some form after this time, he eventually entrusted his disciple Porphyry with the task of editing his writings.<sup>138</sup> Porphyry completed this edition, the *Enneads*, between 301 and 305.<sup>139</sup>

Eusebius quotes from two treatises by Plotinus: in *PE* XI.17 from "On the Three Principal Hypostases," *Περὶ τῶν τριῶν ἀρχικῶν ὑποστάσεων* (= *Enneads* V.1), and in *PE* XV.10 and 22 from a treatise on the soul (*Enneads* IV.7). The quotations from *PE* XV are problematic and deserve to be discussed further.

In the course of his criticism of Aristotle's philosophy, Eusebius quotes from Plotinus against the view that the soul is an ἐντελέχεια. The chapter heading to *PE* XV.10 begins: "From Plotinus' second book on the immortality of the soul," Πλωτίνου ἐκ τοῦ περὶ ἀθανασίας ψυχῆς δευτέρου. . . . The extract that follows is preserved only by Eusebius down to the words μεταλήψει δὲ τοῦ ὄντος at the end of the chapter (*Enn.* IV.7.8[5]). Later in the same book Eusebius turns to Plotinus for arguments against the Stoic conception of the soul. The

<sup>136</sup> J. Dillon, *The Middle Platonists* (London, 1977), p. 8.

<sup>137</sup> The primary source of knowledge about Plotinus' life comes from Porphyry's *VP*, which formed the preface of his edition of Plotinus' works, the *Enneads*. A recent study of this biography, including text, is that of L. Brisson, et al., *Porphyre, la Vie de Plotin*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1982 and 1992); especially for the dates of Plotinus' life, see L. Brisson, "Plotin: une biographie," pp. 1–29.

<sup>138</sup> See *VP* 3–4 for Plotinus' composition; *VP* 4.14–18 and 19–20 for evidence that Plotinus' writings circulated during his life; *VP* 7.50–51 and 24.2–5 for Plotinus' selection of Porphyry to edit his works.

<sup>139</sup> According to *VP* 23.12–14, Porphyry completed his edition of the *Enneads* in his sixty-eighth year; earlier, at *VP* 4.6–9, Porphyry explains that he was thirty in the tenth year of Gallienus' rule, in ca. 263.

chapter heading at *PE* XV.22 ends: “from the first book of Plotinus on the soul,” ἀπὸ τοῦ Α περὶ ψυχῆς Πλωτίνου. The extract that follows down to δικαιοσύνη (*Enn.* IV.7.1–8, 28 and *PE* XV.22.1–49 = *Mras* II.387, 14–395, 24) is preserved by all of the extant manuscripts of the *Enneads*, but thereafter, from the word ἀνδρία to the end of the quotation, the majority of manuscripts of the *Enneads* have a lacuna; only three manuscripts, J, M, and V, all likely dependent on Eusebius, contain this text (*Enn.* IV.7.8, 28–8[4], 28 and *PE* XV.22.49–67 = *Mras* II.395, 24–399, 18).

Because Eusebius preserves passages that manuscripts of the *Enneads* lack, some scholars have questioned whether Eusebius quoted from Porphyry’s edition of Plotinus’ works, the *Enneads*, or instead quoted from a different edition of Plotinus’ writings. One alternative to Porphyry’s edition is implied in a scholium to *Enn.* IV.4.29, 55. The scholiast makes reference to manuscripts of Eustochius, Plotinus’ physician, indicating that Eustochius’ division of Plotinus’ treatise differs from Porphyry’s edition.<sup>140</sup> While conjectures about Eusebius’ possible use of this Eustochian edition have been made since the early nineteenth century, P. Henry is noted for a publication devoted to the defense of this theory, a defense that has been widely accepted.<sup>141</sup> Another proposal attributes Eusebius’ text of Plotinus to copies collected by another of Plotinus’ disciples, Amelius, and brought to Syria.<sup>142</sup> A third proposal allows for the possibility that a few stray

<sup>140</sup> “Ἐως τούτου ἐν τοῖς Εὐστοχίου τὸ δεύτερον Περὶ ψυχῆς καὶ ἤρχετο τὸ τρίτον. ἐν δὲ τοῖς Πορφύριου συνάπτεται τὰ ἐξῆς τῷ δευτέρῳ. (“Up to this point in the [manuscripts] of Eustochius is the second book *On the Soul*, and then begins the third book. But in the [manuscripts] of Porphyry what follows next is joined to the second book.”) For Eustochius, see *VP* 2.34 and 7.8–11.

<sup>141</sup> P. Krause, “Un fragment prétendu de la recension d’Eustochius des oeuvres de Plotin,” *RHR* 113–114 (1936), p. 209, reports that from the time of Creuzer’s *Plotini Opera* (Oxford, 1835), III.202b, editors of Plotinus have considered the possibility of Eusebius’ use of an edition by Eustochius. P. Henry, *Recherches sur la Préparation évangélique d’Eusèbe et l’édition perdue des oeuvres de Plotin publiée par Eustochius* (Paris, 1935) advanced the most comprehensive defense of this theory; his view is accepted by, for example, K. Mras in his edition of the *PE* (II. 372 and 387); E. des Places in his edition of *PE* XV (SC 338 [Paris, 1987], pp. 332ff.); and T. D. Barnes, *CE*, p. 183 and notes 149 and 152.

<sup>142</sup> According to *VP* 19, a letter sent by Longinus to Porphyry in ca. 272, Amelius brought to Longinus in Phoenicia copies of Plotinus’ writings. Porphyry explains that Amelius copied them from Plotinus’ autographs (*VP* 20.6–9). See J. M. Rist, “Basil’s ‘Neoplatonism’: Its Background and Nature,” *Basil of Caesarea: Christian, Humanist, Ascetic: a Sixteen-hundredth Anniversary Symposium, Part One*, P. J. Fedwick, ed. (Toronto, 1981), pp. 159–165; L. Brisson, “Une édition d’Eustochius?” in L. Brisson, et al., *Porphyre, la Vie de Plotin*, II.65–69.

treatises of Plotinus, especially the early ones, like *Enn.* V.1 and IV.7, reached the Greek East by some unknown means.<sup>143</sup>

The weight of the evidence, however, suggests that Eusebius drew all of his quotations of Plotinus from Porphyry's edition, the *Enneads*.<sup>144</sup> Although the manuscript tradition of the *Enneads* lacks the whole of *PE* XV.10 and is severely deficient in *PE* XV.22.49–67, P. Krause has shown that the ps-Aristotelian *Theology of Aristotle* contains a passage, *Enn.* IV.7.8, 38–8[5], 20, that links both of the extracts found in Eusebius.<sup>145</sup> The *Theology of Aristotle* depends upon Porphyry's edition of the *Enneads*, and thus Eusebius' text of Plotinus is not a witness to another edition of Plotinus. The text preserved by Eusebius and the *Theology* must have dropped out of the manuscript tradition of the *Enneads* after the sixth century, when the *Theology* was composed. Any variants in Eusebius' text of Plotinus, therefore, ought to be attributed not to an inferior, pre-Porphyrian edition but to Eusebius' own errors, the errors of copyists, or both.<sup>146</sup>

A significant remaining problem concerns the titles given by Eusebius to the two extracts. At *PE* XV.10 Eusebius quotes from "the second book of Plotinus on the immortality of the soul," but at *PE* XV.22 he quotes from "the first book of Plotinus on the soul." Any who believe that Eusebius used an edition of Plotinus other than the *Enneads* might point out that these titles suggest the existence of two separate treatises. Yet, the evidence suggests that Eusebius did in fact use Porphyry's edition of Plotinus, and this edition was a continuous whole including all of Eusebius' quotations at *PE* XV.10 and 22. The most plausible modern explanations of the description of the quotations as "first" and "second," that either an ancient reader

<sup>143</sup> J. M. Rist, "Basil's Neoplatonism," p. 163, is aware that this possibility cannot be ruled out. P. Kalligas, "Traces of Longinus' Library," *CQ* (2001), p. 590, goes beyond Rist in speculating that Longinus was the source of these pre-Porphyrian treatises.

<sup>144</sup> Helpful reviews of the main arguments of this debate may be found in M.-O. Goulet-Cazé, "L'édition porphyrienne des *Ennéades*. État de la question," *Porphyre, la Vie de Plotin*, I.280–294, with her reiteration of her doubts about any pre-Porphyrian "edition" in "Remarques sur l'édition d'Eustochius," in the same volume, II.71–76; and H. J. Blumenthal, "Plotinus in the Light of Twenty Years' Scholarship, 1951–1971," *ANRW* II.36.1 (1987), pp. 534–535.

<sup>145</sup> P. Krause, "Un fragment prétendu," *RHR* (1936), pp. 207–218.

<sup>146</sup> M. H. A. L. H. Van der Valk, "A Few Observations on the Text of Plotinus," *Mnemosyne* 9 (1956), p. 127 attributes errors in Eusebius' text to Eusebius himself; H. Dörrie, in his review of P. Henry and H.-R. Schwyzler's edition of the *Enneads*, vol. 2, attributes errors to copyists (*Gnomon* 36 [1964], pp. 468–469).



or Eusebius himself inserted the modifiers, assume that the description is intended to clarify that the quotation at *PE* XV.22 precedes the quotation at *PE* XV.10 in the text of the *Enneads*.<sup>147</sup>

Another, I hope better, explanation is possible. Perhaps Eusebius meant to describe the quotation at *PE* XV.10 as having come from Plotinus' *chronologically* second treatise, that on the immortality of the soul. Since he was using Porphyry's edition of the *Enneads*, Eusebius presumably consulted Porphyry's listing of the chronological order of Plotinus' treatises (*VP* 4) and then included the chronological reference for the benefit of his reader. When Eusebius later returns to quote from *Enn.* IV.7, he describes it, accurately in the context of the chronology of Plotinus' works, as Plotinus' first book devoted to the subject of the soul, an even briefer reference than that made at *PE* XV.10, but one still intended to help the reader identify Plotinus' treatise. If this theory is correct, then Eusebius may have inserted his descriptions in order to help readers who were more familiar with a pre-Porphyrian, chronological edition of Plotinus' works (for Porphyry rejected the chronological arrangement). Thus, Eustochius and Amelius may indeed be responsible for "editions" of Plotinus' works, presumably arranged in chronological order, that circulated before Porphyry completed his own edition, and Eusebius will have been acquainted with some of these treatises through one of the pre-Porphyrian avenues, most likely through Amelius (and, possibly, Longinus) in Syria. Such a scenario accords well with the noticeable lack of knowledge of Neoplatonism in Christian thought in the Greek East at the time.<sup>148</sup> A few of Plotinus' early treatises could, by this account, have circulated to Caesarea (*Enn.* V.1 and IV.7, for example, are chronologically tenth and second, respectively), but, since there seems to have been no widespread diffusion of Plotinian ideas among Christians in the late third and early fourth century, Eusebius may have read only these early treatises.

Why, then, would Eusebius quote from Porphyry's edition of Plotinus' works in the *PE*? It must have been only when Eusebius

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<sup>147</sup> P. Krause, "Un fragment prétendu," *RHR* (1936), p. 217, suggests that an ancient reader inserted the words "first" and "second," while M. Van der Valk, "Observations," *Mnemosyne* (1956), pp. 131–132, suggests that Eusebius made the distinction himself.

<sup>148</sup> J. M. Rist, "Basil's Neoplatonism," pp. 137–220; C. Stead, *Philosophy in Christian Antiquity* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 74.



decided to respond to Porphyry's attack on Christianity, during or after the Great Persecution, but probably not later than ca. 315, that he acquired a copy of Porphyry's edition of Plotinus' works, the *Enneads*, together with its biography of Plotinus and discussion of the arrangement of Plotinus' books. This edition appeared not long after 300–305, and Eusebius was no doubt eager to obtain a copy of any work compiled by the great opponent of Christianity in order to use it to refute him, if only at a later time. Eusebius need not have read any more of Plotinus' treatises in the *Enneads* than the few early ones with which he was already familiar.<sup>149</sup>

*Plutarch* Plutarch was a prolific writer of the late first and early second century AD whose works were influential both in pagan and Christian circles for many centuries.<sup>150</sup> Eusebius quotes directly from five of these works, while in addition Mras has noted a possible allusion to a sixth work.

Eusebius quotes from the *De defectu oraculorum* four times within *PE* V, from the *De E apud Delphos* once at *PE* XI.11, and from the *De Iside et Osiride* four times in *PE* III and V. These works may be characterized as “theological” works,<sup>151</sup> and were, because of their subjects, not surprisingly part of the library of Caesarea. Whether these treatises reached Caesarea as a unit, however, introduces J. Irigoin's speculation about the grouping of Plutarch's work in the fourth century.<sup>152</sup> Irigoin maintains that the works of Plutarch used by Sopater, as recorded by Photius, *cod.* 161, may be categorized in two groupings according to the Lamprias catalogue, a listing of Plutarch's works appended to some medieval manuscripts that is believed to

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<sup>149</sup> It is possible, too, that, once he acquired a copy of the *Enneads*, Eusebius quoted from it because he deemed Porphyry's text superior to those that had circulated previously. Cf. *VP* 19.20–23, in which Longinus complains to Porphyry of the errors in the texts of Plotinus brought to him by Amelius. At *VP* 20.6–9, however, Porphyry defends the accuracy of Amelius' copies—though perhaps Porphyry simply did not want to honor Longinus' request that he send to him his own copies of Plotinus' works!

<sup>150</sup> For the use of the *Moralia* in antiquity, see J. Irigoin's “Histoire du texte des ‘oeuvres morales’ de Plutarque” in R. Flacelière and J. Irigoin, edd., *Plutarque, oeuvres morales*, vol. I (Paris, 1987), pp. ccxxvii–ccxxxvii.

<sup>151</sup> K. Ziegler, “Plutarchos (2) von Chaironeia,” *RE* XXI.1 (1951), cols. 636–637, divides Plutarch's writings into categories.

<sup>152</sup> R. Flacelière and J. Irigoin, edd., *Plutarque, oeuvres morales*, vol. I, pp. ccxxix–ccxxxi.

derive from a third or fourth century library catalogue.<sup>153</sup> Thus, Sopater used works that fall between numbers 87 and 96 in the Lamprias catalogue (excepting 88 and 90) and works that fall between numbers 103 and 130 (namely, 103, 104, 108, 115, and 130), as well as several other works. According to Irigoín, these groupings suggest a time of redaction in the Lamprias catalogue when Plutarch's works were placed in groups, possibly facilitated by the transition from the roll to the codex.

The three "theological" works quoted by Eusebius fall between numbers 88 and 118 in the Lamprias catalogue (namely, 88, 117, and 118). (If one agrees with Mras that Eusebius alludes to Plutarch's *De garrulitate* at *PE* I.3.8, and if one thinks that this is evidence of Eusebius' possession of the work, then the *De garrulitate*, number 92 in the Lamprias catalogue, may be placed in this same grouping.) Such a grouping overlaps the two groupings seen by Irigoín in Sopater (87 to 96 and 103 to 130) and implies that, if Plutarch's works truly were arranged in a particular set of groups in the fourth century, Irigoín's analysis of the groupings in Sopater might have to be revised to accommodate that in Eusebius (thus, a single grouping of numbers 87 through 118).

On the other hand, the relationship between the works used by Sopater and Eusebius and the works that appear in the Lamprias catalogue is tenuous and perhaps ought not to inspire speculation about the grouping of Plutarch's works in the fourth century. Plutarch's works originally circulated individually, as Irigoín himself notes,<sup>154</sup> and, while various works may have been grouped together over the centuries, there is little reason to think that any single grouping reflected in the Lamprias catalogue existed and was used by Eusebius. Furthermore, Plutarch's works may have been brought to Caesarea long before the fourth century began, perhaps by Origen (as he seems to have done with the *De anima*). If Origen brought rolls of Plutarch's works to Caesarea in the third century, these rolls need not have reflected any groupings that may be seen in the Lamprias catalogue. Most likely, the theological and philosophical works of Plutarch were of primary interest to the head of the library at

<sup>153</sup> See M. Treu, *Der sogenannte Lampriascatalog der Plutarchschriften*, Gymn.-Programm (Waldenburg-in-Schlesien, 1873).

<sup>154</sup> R. Flacelière and J. Irigoín, edd., *Plutarque, oeuvres morales*, vol. I, p. ccxxvii.

Caesarea, and it was for this reason that Plutarch's works of theology and philosophy were acquired.

The two final works of Plutarch that Eusebius quotes are the *De Daedalis Plataeensis* and the *De anima*. Of the *De Daedalis Plataeensis* only two fragments are extant, those transmitted by Eusebius at *PE* III.1 and 8 (fr. 157–158 Sandbach). Eusebius quotes from the *De anima* at *PE* XI.36.1 (fr. 176 Sandbach). There are few traces of this philosophical work elsewhere, but Origen states that he read it at *Contra Celsum* V.57 (fr. 173 Sandbach), the same place at which Origen refers to Numenius' *De incorruptibilitate animae*, and it is plausible that Origen is again the source of the copy at Caesarea.

*Ps-Plutarch* Eusebius quotes from two works that he attributes to Plutarch, the *Stromateis* (at *PE* I.8) and the *Placita philosophorum* (in *PE* XIV and XV). Of the *Stromateis*, only the extract found in Eusebius, a doxographic account of the opinions of philosophers from Thales to Diogenes of Apollonia, is extant.<sup>155</sup> The work was probably composed shortly after Plutarch's death.<sup>156</sup> There is no reason to doubt that Eusebius knew this work firsthand at Caesarea, although one wonders whether Eusebius knew it as an independent work or as an appendix to other works attributed to Plutarch, including the *Placita*.

Eusebius makes extensive use of the *Placita*, an epitome of philosophical opinions, in order to expose the contradictions between Greek philosophers. The long extracts in *PE* XV are arranged according to topic, while that at *PE* XIV.14 more selectively surveys the views of individual philosophers. The *Placita* itself was composed probably in the middle of the second century and became associated with Plutarch's name in that same century, though it essentially represents a summary of a doxography compiled in the first century by a man named Aetius.<sup>157</sup> Eusebius most likely used the *Placita* firsthand at Caesarea.

<sup>155</sup> For an introduction to the extract, see H. Diels, *Doxographi Graeci* (Berlin, 1879), pp. 156–161; the text is also edited by F. H. Sandbach, *Plutarchi Moralia*, vol. VII (Leipzig, 1967), fr. 179 on pp. 110–115.

<sup>156</sup> H. Diels, *Doxographi Graeci*, p. 157.

<sup>157</sup> The seminal work of H. Diels, *Doxographi Graeci*, pp. 45–69, has been modified in more recent scholarship; see J. Mansfeld, "Doxography and Dialectic: the *Sitz im Leben* of the *Placita*," *ANRW* II.36.4 (1990), pp. 3061–3065; J. Mansfeld and D. T. Runia, *Aetiana: the Method and Intellectual Context of a Doxographer*, *Philosophia Antiqua* 73, vol. I (Leiden, 1997), especially pp. 121–141 and 319–332; see also

*Porphyry* Porphyry of Tyre, the elder of Eusebius by approximately one generation, was Plotinus' student at Rome and a prolific author of works in numerous branches of knowledge. Eusebius makes use of at least eight of Porphyry's works.

(1) Eusebius quotes from the second book of the *Περὶ ἀποχῆς ἐμψύχων* (*De abstinentia*) at *PE* I.9; IV.11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, and 22; and IX.2, as well as from the fourth book at *PE* I.4; III.4; and IX.3. Presumably, Eusebius possessed the entire work. (2) The treatise *Περὶ ψυχῆς πρὸς Βόηθον* (*Ad Boethum de anima*) is quoted at *PE* XI.28; XIV.10; and XV.11 and 16. (3) Several passages of the *Περὶ ἀγαλμάτων* (*De cultu simulacrorum*) appear at *PE* III.7, 9, and 11.<sup>158</sup> (4) Eusebius quotes from the *Πρὸς Ἀνεβώ* (*Epistula ad Anebonem*) at *PE* III.4; V.7 and 10; and XIV.10. (5) Much use is made of Porphyry's own examination of oracles, *Περὶ τῆς ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφίας* (*De philosophia ex oraculis haurienda*). Eusebius exploits this work at *PE* III.14–15; IV.7–9, 20, and 23; V.6–9 and 11–16; VI.1–5; IX.10; and XIV.10. (6) Eusebius quotes from the *Φιλόλογος ἀκρόασις* (*Recitatio philologica*) at *PE* X.3. (7) In the first part of his *Chronicon*, the *Chronographia*, Eusebius quotes from the first books of Porphyry's *Φιλόσοφος ἱστορία* (*Historia philosophica*) for information on the period between the fall of Troy and the first Olympiad (p. 189 Schoene; pp. 88–89 Karst = 200F Smith). While this quotation is Eusebius' only direct reference to the *Hist. phil.*, a citation of Porphyry in the *Chronological Canons* (p. 84c Helm) probably comes from this history of philosophy, and it may be assumed that Eusebius used the entire work (of at least four books) when he composed both parts of his *Chronicon*.

Eusebius' use of (8) what is traditionally known as the *Κατὰ Χριστιανῶν* (*Adversus Christianos*) brings up fresh problems.<sup>159</sup> The challenge of Porphyry's detailed attack on Christianity in fifteen books must, in varying degrees, lie behind Eusebius' composition of the

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the review of this latter work by M. Frede in *Phronesis* 44 (1999), pp. 135–149, for caution on making Actius the source of the *Placita*.

<sup>158</sup> In his new edition of the fragments of Porphyry's writings, A. Smith adds the text of *PE* III.13.5, 8–9, and 22: see 353 F in *Porphyrii philosophi fragmenta* (Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1993).

<sup>159</sup> The standard edition is still that of A. von Harnack, ed., *Porphyrius, "Gegen die Christen," 15 Bücher: Zeugnisse, Fragmente, und Referate. Abhandlungen der königlichen preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse 1* (Berlin, 1916). Among contemporary scholars, T. D. Barnes, "Porphyry Against the Christians: Date and the Attribution of Fragments," *JTS* 24 (1973), pp. 424–442, has called for a reassessment of this edition, as has P. F. Beatrice in the articles cited below.

*Chronicon*, *HE*, and *PE*, as well his lost refutation in twenty-five books *Against Porphyry* (Jerome, *Ep.* 70.3; *De viris ill.* 81). But, P. F. Beatrice has recently argued that Porphyry never did write a treatise called *Κατὰ Χριστιανῶν*, that the fragments commonly ascribed to this work ought to be attributed instead to the *Περὶ τῆς ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφίας* (*De philosophia ex oraculis*) (above, work number 5).<sup>160</sup> In view of Beatrice's work, it will be useful to examine Eusebius' possible citations of the *Adv. Chr.*

(a) Eusebius quotes from Porphyry at *HE* VI.19.4–8 for information on Origen. In the introduction to the passage (VI.19.2), Eusebius describes Porphyry as someone “who, having settled in our day in Sicily, put out books against us,” ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐν Σικελίᾳ καταστάς Πορφύριος συγγράμματα καθ' ἡμῶν ἐνστησάμενος. At the end of the quotation, Eusebius resumes (VI.19.9): “These things were said by Porphyry in the third book of what he wrote against Christians,” ταῦτα τῷ Πορφυρίῳ κατὰ τὸ τρίτον σύγγραμμα τῶν γραφέντων αὐτῷ κατὰ Χριστιανῶν εἴρηται. This last reference is the most straightforward reference to a work *Adv. Chr.*, and yet it is possible that Eusebius' words contain only a general reference to “what he [Porphyry] wrote,” or, again, “the works by him [Porphyry],” against Christians.

(b) In the *PE*, Harnack has in his edition listed *PE* I.2.1–4 as the first fragment of the *Adv. Chr.* The passage, however, is not a direct quotation (the text could simply be Eusebius' summary of the essential pagan complaint against Christianity), or it may not even come from Porphyry at all.<sup>161</sup>

<sup>160</sup> P. F. Beatrice, “Le Traité de Porphyre contre les Chrétiens: l'état de la question,” *Kernos* 4 (1991), pp. 119–138; Idem, “Towards a New Edition of Porphyry's Fragments against the Christians,” *ΣΟΦΙΗΣ ΜΑΙΗΤΟΡΕΣ (chercheurs de sagesse): hommage à Jean Pépin*, Collection des Études Augustiniennes, sér. ant. 131, M.-O. Goulet-Cazé, G. Madec, D. O'Brien, edd. (Paris, 1992), pp. 347–355; Idem, “On the Title of Porphyry's Treatise against the Christians,” *Ἀγοθὴ ἐλπίς: studi storico-religiosi in onore di Ugo Bianchi*, Storia delle religioni 2, G. S. Gasparro, ed. (Rome, 1994), pp. 221–235.

<sup>161</sup> R. L. Wilken, “Pagan Criticism of Christianity: Greek Religion and Christian Faith,” *Early Christian Literature and the Classical Tradition in Honorem R. M. Grant*, W. R. Schoedel and R. L. Wilken, edd., *Théologie historique* 54 (Paris, 1979), pp. 117–134, for example, argues that the passage comes from Porphyry's *De phil. ex orac.*

(c) P. Nautin has argued that *PE* I.10.42–53, with its excerpts from Philo of Byblos, was really drawn from Porphyry. But, T. D. Barnes and, separately, J. Sirinelli and E. des Places have rightly rejected this view.<sup>162</sup>

(d) The text of *PE* I.9.21, on Philo of Byblos' source Sanchuniathon, probably comes from Porphyry. Eusebius refers to Porphyry in the introduction to the passage (I.9.20) as he "who in our time made the compilation<sup>163</sup> against us, in the fourth book of the work directed against us," ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς τὴν καθ' ἡμῶν πεποιημένους συσκευὴν ἐν τετάρτῳ τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὑποθέσεως. Harnack makes this passage Fr. 41 of *Adv. Chr.*, but it is not perfectly clear from this introduction which of Porphyry's works Eusebius means; Eusebius simply relates that the author was a contemporary responsible for the "compilation against us [Christians]," that the book was directed against "us [Christians]," and that it was in at least four books.

(e) Eusebius uses the same text with minor modification at *PE* V.1.10 and *PE* X.9.12. In his introduction to the first passage, Eusebius refers to the author as "that same man who in our day was a defender of demons, in the compilation against us," αὐτὸς ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς τῶν δαιμόνων προήγορος ἐν τῇ καθ' ἡμῶν συσκευῇ (V.1.9). In his introduction to the second passage, Eusebius explains that "Porphyry therefore writes in the fourth book of his compilation against us," γράφει τοίνυν ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ τῆς καθ' ἡμῶν συσκευῆς Πορφύριος (X.9.12).<sup>164</sup> Porphyry is again responsible for a "compilation," and his work filled at least four books. But, again, though Harnack designates this text

<sup>162</sup> P. Nautin, "Trois autres fragments du livre de Porphyre contre les Chrétiens," *Revue biblique* 57 (1950), pp. 409–416; T. D. Barnes, "Porphyry Against the Christians," *JTS* 24 (1973), p. 426; J. Sirinelli and E. des Places, *SC* #206 (1974), pp. 315–320.

<sup>163</sup> J. Sirinelli, *SC* #206 (1974), p. 301–302, observes of the word συσκευή that Eusebius "n'emploie ce terme ni a propos d'un autre auteur, ni à propos d'un autre ouvrage du même auteur. Il n'est pas facile d'en déterminer la valeur exacte, mais il semble bien qu'il s'y attache l'idée d'un 'montage' préparé pour la mise en scène." G. W. H. Lampe in *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford, 1961) defines the word as "compilation" (s.v. 1), though the ordinary meaning of the word is "plot" or "intrigue" (see Liddell-Scott-Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 9th ed. [Oxford, 1940] s.v.), and συσκευή retained this meaning (Lampe, *PGL* s.v. 3). I translate "compilation," but Eusebius may have intended the word also to connote Porphyry's "plotting" against Christians.

<sup>164</sup> This passage derives from the *Chronicon* and ought to be compared to the Latin preface at p. 8 Helm: *Ex ethnicis vero impius ille Porphyrius in quarto operis sui libro, quod adversum nos casso labore contexuit. . .*

(at least, that at *PE* V.1.10) Fr. 80 of *Adv. Chr.*, the title of the work is not really clear. On the other hand, Beatrice believes that this passage comes from the *De phil.* but cannot provide independent proof. One observation may add support to Beatrice's view: Eusebius relies heavily on two of Porphyry's works, the *De phil.* and *De abst.*, for quotations in *PE* IV, while in *PE* V Eusebius relies heavily on the *De phil.* and *Ep. Ad Anebonem*. These works, then, were the ones by Porphyry that Eusebius had at hand when he composed this section of the *PE*, and it is possible that the text of *PE* V.1.10 comes from one of these books.

Beatrice is aware that Eusebius' words in the above passages are similar to some of those he makes in his introductions to quotations from the *De phil.*<sup>165</sup> In all three passages, Eusebius refers to Porphyry's work as a ἡ καθ' ἡμῶν συσκευή. Likewise, at *PE* V.5.5 Eusebius introduces a quotation from the *De phil.* in this way: "the man who made the compilation against us sets it out in the books he wrote On Philosophy from Oracles," ὁ τὴν καθ' ἡμῶν συσκευὴν πεποιημένος ἐν οἷς ἐπέγραψε Περὶ τῆς ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφίας ἐκτέθεται. And at *PE* V.36.5 Eusebius refers to the *De phil.* with the words: "passing in turn to the Philosophy from Oracles of the man who made the compilation against us," μεταβάς αὐθις ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφίαν τοῦ τὴν συσκευὴν καθ' ἡμῶν πεποιημένου. Although this similarity of wording cannot be pushed too far, it makes clear that Eusebius considered the *De phil.* to be an attack on Christianity,<sup>166</sup> and so, if later evidence shows that no *Adv. Chr.* existed, it would not be implausible to suggest the *De phil.* as Porphyry's work against the Christians.

(f) In the preface to the *Chronici canones* (II.4 Schoene = Syncellus 122) Eusebius refers to an unnamed author: "whoever that man was of the Greek philosophers who put forward the compilation against us, in the fourth book of the work against us that he labored at in

<sup>165</sup> P. F. Beatrice, "On the Title," *Studi storico-religiosi in onore di Ugo Bianchi*, pp. 233–234.

<sup>166</sup> See also the very end of *DE* III.6: τίς δ' ἂν γένοιτό σοι τούτων ἀξιπιστας ὁμολογία [μᾶλλον] τῆς τοῦ καθ' ἡμῶν πολεμίου γραφῆς, ἣν ἐν οἷς ἐπέγραψεν Περὶ τῆς ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφίας ἐν τρίτῳ συγγράμματι τέθεται. ("What could be a more trustworthy testimony for you than our enemy's writing, which he sets out in the third book in what he called *On Philosophy from Oracles*?") At "Towards a New Edition," *Hommage à Jean Pépin*, p. 349, and "On the Title," *Studi storico-religiosi in onore di Ugo Bianchi*, p. 234, Beatrice claims this text as confirmation that the *Adv. Chr.* ought to be identified with the *De phil.*



vain,” Ἑλληνικῶν δὲ φιλοσόφων, ὅστις ποτὲ ἦν ἐκεῖνος ἀνὴρ ὁ τὴν καθ’ ἡμῶν συσκευὴν προβεβλημένος, ἐν τῇ δ’ τῆς εἰς μάτην αὐτῷ πονηθείσης καθ’ ἡμῶν ὑποθέσεως. . . . Eusebius seems to be referring to a fourth book of Porphyry’s attack on Christianity, for the author is responsible for a “compilation against us [Christians]” and a “work against us [Christians].”

This passage, as well as the two from the *PE* cited above, refer to a fourth book of Porphyry’s work. A significant obstacle to identifying the *De phil.* with the *Adv. Chr.* is the reportedly different number of books of each work. (Beatrice is correct to dismiss problems of dating, since there is no scholarly agreement on the date of the *De phil.* or *Adv. Chr.*)<sup>167</sup> The *Adv. Chris.* is supposed to have comprised fifteen books.<sup>168</sup> (Interestingly, the clearest statement of this information comes in the Suidas lexicon, which, while it names a work Κατὰ Χριστιανῶν, does not report the existence of the *De phil.*) The *De phil.* itself, however, seems only to have had three books, or, at least, extant fragments have come from only three books. Beatrice cites evidence, though, of a tenth book,<sup>169</sup> so perhaps the possibility that the *De phil.* contained more than three books ought not to be excluded.

(g) In the *Chronographia* (I.229 Schoene; p. 109 Karst) Eusebius refers again to the books of Porphyry, the philosopher καθ’ ἡμῶν, for a list of Macedonian kings.<sup>170</sup>

<sup>167</sup> P. F. Beatrice, “Towards a New Edition,” *Hommage à Jean Pépin*, p. 350, citing A. Smith, “Porphyrian Studies since 1913,” *ANRW* II.36.2 (1987), p. 733. See further below *infra* on dating the *Adv. Chr.* and *De phil.*

<sup>168</sup> *Suidas* lexicon, s. v. Πορφύριος, IV.178 Adler: Κατὰ Χριστιανῶν λόγους ιε’ Jerome, *Tract. In Marci Evangel.* I.2 cites a fourteenth book of the work.

<sup>169</sup> P. F. Beatrice, “Towards a New Edition,” *Hommage à Jean Pépin*, p. 351, citing the same oracle published by Augustine Steuchus, *De perenni philosophia* (Lyons, 1540), III.14, pp. 155–157, and found in the Codex Ambrosianus 569 (saec. XVI) by Angelo Cardinal Mai, *Iudaei, Porphyrii philosophi, Eusebii Pamphili opera inedita* (Milan, 1816), pp. 59–64. However, E. D. Digeser, “Lactantius, Porphyry, and the Debate over Religious Toleration,” *JRS* 88 (1998), p. 138, note 72, maintains that the evidence of a fourteenth century manuscript that attributes the same oracle to the second book, rather than the tenth book (see G. Wolff, *Porphyrii de philosophia ex oraculis haurienda librorum reliquiae* [Berlin, 1856], p. 39), ought to be preferred. Digeser suggests that the word δέυτερος was mistaken for δέκατος in the MSS Beatrice cites.

<sup>170</sup> See B. Croke, “Porphyry’s Anti-Christian Chronology,” *JTS* 34 (1983), pp. 172–181. The exposition of the kings of the Thessalians and the kings of the Asians and Syrians (Schoene I.241–263; pp. 114–124 Karst) that follows the list of Macedonian kings presumably also comes from Porphyry.



(h-i) Eusebius may have made two more references to Porphyry's *Adv. Chr.* in the *Chronographia*. When producing a list of Ptolemaic rulers down to Cleopatra, Eusebius names his source as ἀπὸ τῆς Πορφυρίου γραφῆς (Schoene I.160; p. 74 Karst), and when later summarizing his sources for Greek and Oriental history, Eusebius cites Porphyry "from the fall of Troy to the reign of Claudius" (Schoene I.265; p. 125 Karst). These two passages have in the past been understood as references to a *Chronicle* that Porphyry is supposed to have written, but B. Croke has called attention to the fact that the only direct reference to a Porphyrian *Chronicle* comes from a late Arabic source (Gregorius Abu al-Faraj Bar Hebraeus, at 225T Smith). Croke further maintains that the two passages under discussion need not refer to any *Chronicle*: the first may in fact refer to the *Adv. Chr.*, while the second may refer either to the *Adv. Chr.* alone or generally to the works of Porphyry used by Eusebius in the composition of the *Chronicon*.<sup>171</sup> Because Croke's points are so strong, it will be prudent here to reject the existence (and Eusebius' use) of a ninth work, the *Chronicle*.

Evidence of the existence of a separate treatise written by Porphyry and titled *Adversus Christianos*, however, must be judged inconclusive. Eusebius seems to refer to such a work in the *HE*, yet his other possible references to such a work in the *Chronicon* and *PE* are ambiguous and sometimes even quite similar to references to the *De philosophia ex oraculis*. Beatrice's attempt to identify the *Adv. Chr.* with the *De phil.*, while not proved, ought not to be rejected, either. Further evidence will be needed to settle the question.

A final problem to be considered is how Eusebius obtained his copies of these seven or eight works by Porphyry—and here another ought to be included, since Porphyry was responsible for the edition of Plotinus' works, the *Enneads*, that Eusebius used in the *PE*. Uncertain chronology complicates the matter. Porphyry's edition of the *Enneads* was produced ca. 301, and Eusebius therefore had more than a decade in which to obtain a copy of the work for use in the *PE*. Most of Porphyry's other works cannot be assigned secure dates. Of particular importance is the date of Porphyry's *Adv. Chr.* (if indeed Porphyry used this title), which has been much contested. The work's

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<sup>171</sup> B. Croke, "Porphyry," *JTS* (1983), pp. 168–185. Croke's arguments are accepted and supplemented by T. D. Barnes, "Scholarship or Propaganda? Porphyry *Against the Christians* and Its Historical Setting," *BICS* 39 (1994), pp. 55–57.

traditional date is ca. 272, but some scholars have argued for a later date, even ca. 300.<sup>172</sup> And now that doubt has been cast on the traditional association between the composition of the *Adv. Chr.* and Porphyry's residence in Sicily in the early 270's,<sup>173</sup> all that can be said with confidence is that Porphyry composed his *Adv. Chr.* at some time between 272 and ca. 300. As was noted above, the *De phil.*, if it is to be identified with Porphyry's famous attack on Christianity, also cannot be dated with confidence, either as an early or as a late composition.<sup>174</sup> The recent work of R. W. Burgess demonstrates that the *Chronicon* was first composed ca. 308–311 and the *HE* ca. 313–314, both at least partly in response to Porphyry's attack on Christianity, so that, if Porphyry's work (or works) was written late, it will have immediately exacerbated the hostility toward Christianity that loomed before the Great Persecution or, if it was written decades earlier, the work could have resurfaced when persecution became more

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<sup>172</sup> For the traditional date of Porphyry's *Adv. Chr.*, see A. Cameron, "The Date of Porphyry's KATA ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΩΝ," *CQ* 17 (1967), pp. 382–384. T. D. Barnes, "Porphyry *Against the Christians*: Date and the Attribution of Fragments," *JTS* 24 (1973), pp. 433–442, thought Porphyry completed his *Adv. Chr.* as late as the early fourth century. Barnes's arguments for a late dating are criticized by B. Croke, "The Era of Porphyry's Anti-Christian Polemic," *JRH* 13 (1984), pp. 1–14, even though just a year previously Croke had shown sympathy toward the later dating: "Porphyry," *JTS* (1983), p. 184. Barnes altered his view of the date of the *Adv. Chr.* to between ca. 275 and ca. 290 in "Pagan Perceptions of Christianity," *Early Christianity: Origins and Evolution to AD 600 in Honour of W. H. C. Frend*, I. Hazlett, ed. (London, 1991), pp. 239–240. In "Scholarship," *BICS* (1994), Barnes names other proponents of a late dating and himself argues for a date ca. 300. Barnes's arguments are often dependent on his likely mistaken early dating of a first edition of Eusebius' *Chronicon*, but it is worth stating that no evidence prevents a late dating, since Porphyry could have produced works after his edition of the *Enneads* in 301.

<sup>173</sup> See the discussion of *HE* VI.19.2 by T. D. Barnes, "Scholarship," *BICS* (1994), pp. 60–62.

<sup>174</sup> Again, see A. Smith, "Porphyrian Studies since 1913," *ANRW* II.36.2 (1987), p. 733. Smith reiterates his view that the *De phil.* cannot be dated in his "Porphyry and Pagan Religious Practice," *The Perennial Tradition of Neoplatonism*, J. J. Cleary, ed. (Leuven, 1997), pp. 29–31. Oddly, T. D. Barnes, "Scholarship," *BICS* (1994), p. 59, citing the work of Smith (1987), holds to the pre-Plotinian date of *De phil.* It should be noted here that the sole exterior evidence for making the *De phil.* an early work of Porphyry is Eunapius' remark at *Vit. soph.* IV.11–12 (457) that, "as it seems, he [Porphyry] perhaps wrote these things [the work on oracles] while a young man" (νέος δὲ ὅν ἴσως τὰὐτὰ ἔγραψε, ὡς εἴκειν). This statement is too filled with qualifiers to provide a secure early dating. On the other side, M. B. Simmons, *Amobius of Sicca* (Oxford, 1995), p. 26, prefers a late date for the *De phil.*, ca. 270–300, and E. D. Digeser, "Lactantius," *JRS* (1998), pp. 138–146, dates the *De phil.* even more closely to the Great Persecution.

common ca. 300.<sup>175</sup> This latter scenario would not be without precedent if Celsus' treatise against Christianity, which was probably written in the late second century, gained new prominence in the third century, for which reason Ambrose asked Origen to refute it.<sup>176</sup>

One specific proposal of how Porphyry's works reached Caesarea ought also to be evaluated. According to a scenario envisioned by R. M. Grant, Anatolius of Laodicea acquired Porphyry's "early" works—that is, all the works used by Eusebius—while Anatolius, formerly a professor of Aristotelian philosophy in Alexandria, was at Caesarea as Bishop Theotecnus' designated successor.<sup>177</sup> Grant assigns the date of 279 to Anatolius' removal from Caesarea, but this date is based on an erroneous preference of the evidence of the *Chronicon* (p. 223 Helm) to that of the *HE* (VII.32.21). Eusebius' fuller account in the *HE* is the correct one: Anatolius departed from Caesarea in ca. 268.<sup>178</sup> Thus, if Anatolius is to have obtained any of Porphyry's works for the library at Caesarea, these works would have to have been quite early publications. Unfortunately, apart from the *Enneads*, the dates of the other Porphyrian works used by Eusebius are not known and thus cannot with any certainty be assigned to the period before or during which Anatolius resided at Caesarea (ca. 264–268).<sup>179</sup>

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<sup>175</sup> R. W. Burgess, "The Dates and Editions of Eusebius' *Chronici Canones* and *Historia Ecclesiastica*," *JTS* 48 (1997), pp. 471–504. Burgess sympathizes with the late dating of Porphyry's *Adv. Chr.*, but he recognizes on p. 497 the possibility that the work attained new prominence when persecution began in the fourth century. A purge of Christians in the army in the East had already occurred ca. 299–300: R. W. Burgess, "The Date of the Persecution of Christians in the Army," *JTS* 47 (1996), pp. 157–158.

<sup>176</sup> For example, H. Crouzel, *Origen*, A. S. Worrall, trans. (San Francisco, 1989), p. 48, suggests that a renewed interest in traditional Roman religion accompanied the Secular Games celebrated by Philip the Arab (whom Crouzel accepts as Christian) and that Celsus' work may have re-emerged at this time.

<sup>177</sup> R. M. Grant, "Porphyry among the Early Christians," *Romanitas et Christianitas: Studia Iano Henrico Waszink*, W. den Boer, et al., edd. (Amsterdam, 1973), pp. 181–187.

<sup>178</sup> J. Dillon, "Iamblichus of Chalcis (c. 240–325 AD)," *ANRW* II.36.2 (1987), p. 867, similarly dates Anatolius' departure from Caesarea to 274 or later, rejecting Zeller's earlier chronology as based on "too much faith in Eusebius' garbled account" in the *HE*. (Dillon's article is a revision of his introduction to his *Iamblichi Chalcidensis In Platonis Dialogos Commentariorum Fragmenta*, *Philosophia Antiqua* 23 [Leiden, 1973].) It would seem more reasonable, however, to trust the *HE*, since this later work allowed Eusebius to give a more complete account of the event than could be given in the narrow confines of an entry in a chronicle. Eusebius himself makes this point at *HE* I.1.6. On the chronology of Anatolius' career, see the entry on Anatolius in Chapter VII.

<sup>179</sup> On the uncertain dates of most of Porphyry's works, see A. Smith, "Porphyrian

Too little is known about the chronology of Porphyry's and Eusebius' works to draw any conclusions about precisely how and when Eusebius obtained copies of Porphyry's writings. If the first edition of the *Chronicon* is placed after 306, then Eusebius must have by that time obtained Porphyry's attack on Christianity (that is, the *Adv. Chr.*, or, if no such work existed, the *De phil.*) and *Historia philosophica*. By ca. 315 Eusebius had acquired copies of the rest of Porphyry's works, including the *Enneads*. The library at Caesarea may, of course, have already contained all of Porphyry's works known to Eusebius (except the *Enneads*) before ca. 300, but this need not have happened and is perhaps unlikely. It was probably persecution that prompted Eusebius (and perhaps Pamphilus) to acquire Porphyry's works so that a suitable response could be made.

Severus was a Platonic philosopher of most likely the second century AD.<sup>180</sup> He was among the philosophers whose ὑπομνήματα were read by Plotinus and his circle.<sup>181</sup> Eusebius preserves the single extant fragment of his writing at *PE* XIII.17, from Severus' *De anima*.<sup>182</sup> Eusebius quotes the passage in a short section initiated at XIII.16 and devoted to the failings of Plato's philosophy regarding the soul; in the chapter Eusebius criticizes Plato's explanation of the soul's composition and Plato's doctrine of the transmigration of souls. In the succeeding chapter Eusebius adduces Severus as corroborating evidence that Plato's conception of the soul is flawed. Although this extract constitutes Eusebius' only use of Severus, there is no reason to doubt that Eusebius used Severus' treatise *De anima* firsthand and that the

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Studies since 1913," *ANRW* II.36.2 (1987), pp. 719–722 and *passim*. Thus, for example, Grant (p. 181) classifies the *De phil.* and *De cultu simulacrorum* as pre-Plotinian works, while Smith maintains that no evidence exists for a secure date for either, whether early or late (p. 733 and p. 743 with note 145, respectively).

<sup>180</sup> There is no reliable evidence for Severus' date, but, because Proclus, *In Timaeum* 304B, III.212.8, mentions him with Atticus and Plutarch, he is generally placed in the second century. See J. Dillon, *The Middle Platonists* (Ithaca, 1977), pp. 262–264.

<sup>181</sup> *VP* 14.11; others whose works were read by Plotinus and whom Eusebius knows are Numenius, Atticus, and Alexander of Aphrodisias.

<sup>182</sup> Eusebius names the work at *PE* XIII.17.7: ταῦτά μοι ἀπὸ τῶν Σενήρου τοῦ Πλατωνικοῦ Περί ψυχῆς προκείσθω. According to Proclus, *In Timaeum* I.204.17, Severus composed a commentary on Plato's *Timaeus*, and it is possible, as H. Dörrie and M. Baltes, *Der Platonismus in der Antike* (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt, 1993), III.299, note, that the extract instead comes from this commentary.

library of Caesarea contained the work. Not only was Eusebius knowledgeable of Platonic philosophy and the writings of the Middle Platonists, but he also makes use of several treatises specifically on the topic of the soul, including Longinus' *De anima*, Ps-Plutarch's *De anima*, and Plato's *Phaedo* (also called *De anima* by Eusebius).

*Sextus Empiricus* Eusebius quotes a single brief passage of *Pyrrhoneae hypotyposes*, I.220, without attribution at *PE* XIV.4.16 in an abbreviated account of the succession at Plato's Academy. Numenius' work on this same subject, *De Academiae erga Platonem dissensu*, is quoted in the next chapter and I have argued elsewhere that it is the likely source of this passage of Sextus.<sup>183</sup>

*Speusippus* M. Isnardi Parente is likely correct to attribute the *testimonia* of *PE* XIV.4.13–14 to Numenius.<sup>184</sup>

*Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*, II.1032 appears at *PE* III.9.9. Eusebius gives this report of Stoic thought on the nature of Zeus while attacking the allegorical interpretation of Greek theology. The passage could have been drawn from any number of Stoic sources that survived in the library from Origen's day (see below).

*Timon of Phlius* Eusebius provides two apparently direct quotations from Timon's *Silloi* in the *PE*, the first at XV.62.14 and the second at XV.62.15. Both of these quotations, however, are also found in Clement of Alexandria's *Stromateis*, V.11.5–6. As Mras and Des Places agree, Eusebius likely drew these two passages from Clement.<sup>185</sup>

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<sup>183</sup> See A. J. Carriker, "Some Uses," *JTS* (1996). Cf. E. des Places, *Commentateur*, p. 55. Sextus Empiricus is ordinarily dated to the late second century (see most recently L. Floridi, *Sextus Empiricus: the Transmission and Recovery of Pyrrhonism* [New York, 2002], p. 5, assigning Sextus' acme to ca. 180–190), but, if my argument is correct, then Sextus preceded Numenius (who is also dated to the late second century), or, at least, Sextus wrote his *Pyrrhoneae hypotyposes* somewhat before Numenius wrote his work on the Academy. G. Favrelle, *SC* #292 (Paris, 1982), pp. 260–261, attributes the quotation of Sextus to an unknown author whom Eusebius used.

<sup>184</sup> M. Isnardi Parente, *Speusippo frammenti* (Naples, 1980), fr. 31 at p. 79 with commentary at pp. 236–237.

<sup>185</sup> K. Mras, II.425; E. des Places, *SC* #338 (Paris, 1987), pp. 432–434.

*Xenophon and Ps-Xenophon* A pupil of Socrates, Xenophon produced a variety of philosophical and historical works in the fourth century BC. Of these works Eusebius quotes only from the *Memorabilia*, and of this work he uses only two passages. At *PE* I.8.15 and 16 Eusebius quotes *Mem.* I.1.11 and 13, while at *PE* XV.62.1–6 Eusebius quotes the full text of *Mem.* I. 1.11–16, and at *PE* XIV.11.1–7 Eusebius quotes *Mem.* IV.7.2–8. After the latter quotation Eusebius adds an extract from an *Epistula ad Aeschinem* that he attributes to Xenophon (*PE* XIV.12.1).

There is no reason to doubt that Eusebius used the *Memorabilia* firsthand.<sup>186</sup> It is possible, furthermore, that the letter to Aeschines was appended to whatever collection Eusebius had of Xenophon's works.

It would be unsurprising if the library of Caesarea possessed more of Xenophon's philosophical works than just the *Memorabilia*, but no evidence of this survives. One passage in the *VC* ought to be noted in this context: at *VC* I.7 Eusebius reports how Cyrus perished at the hands of a woman. Eusebius cannot have derived this story from Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, 8.7 (to which Winkelmann hesitatingly refers in his edition of the text), since it is absent from Xenophon's version of the death of Cyrus. A more likely source is Diodorus Siculus, II.44.2 (but cf. Herodotus, I.205–214).

### C. SOME ADDITIONAL PHILOSOPHICAL WORKS USED BY ORIGEN

Several of the philosophical works used by Eusebius have in the preceding pages been traced back to Origen. There are nevertheless still more works that can be attributed to the library at Caesarea from the evidence of Origen's own numerous writings, especially his *Contra Celsum*, the apology that Origen composed near the end of his life. The following is an attempt to name some of the particular works Origen seems to have used at Caesarea. The evidence is often admittedly slight, since Origen must have often quoted from memory, yet at the same time there can be little doubt that Origen possessed many more books, including handbooks, than he does in

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<sup>186</sup> Cf. E. des Places, *Commentateur*, p. 42.

fact name in his extant writings.<sup>187</sup> Many, perhaps even all, of the books identified here will have survived until Eusebius' day.

The first piece of evidence to consider is Porphyry's statement quoted by Eusebius at *HE* VI.19.4–8. In this extract traditionally attributed to the *Adversus Christianos*, Porphyry criticizes Origen's application of allegorical exegesis to the Hebrew Scriptures and then observes how learned Origen was in Greek culture:

For he was always consorting with Plato, and was conversant with the writings of Numenius and Cronius, Apollophanes and Longinus and Moderatus, Nicomachus and the distinguished men among the Pythagoreans; and he used also the books of Chaeremon the Stoic and Cornutus, from whom he learnt the figurative interpretation, as employed in the Greek mysteries, and applied it to the Jewish writings.<sup>188</sup>

Porphyry, who was born ca. 234, probably at Tyre (*Vita Plotini* 7.50–51; 20.91–92), claims to have been young when he met Origen (*HE* VI.19.5), and Origen probably died ca. 253. The likely place of this meeting was Caesarea, where Origen was still presumably teaching and preaching. A rare contemporary witness of Origen's great secular learning, Porphyry relied, it seems, not only on his knowledge of Origen's works but also on his personal knowledge of Origen.<sup>189</sup>

It is clear from the sections above on Plato and Numenius that

<sup>187</sup> In the introduction to his edition of the *Contra Celsum* (Leipzig, 1899), pp. xxiv–xxxi, P. Koetschau, though impressed with Origen's secular education, emphasizes how difficult it is to determine Origen's actual sources. H. Koch, *Pronoia und Paideusis* (Berlin-Leipzig, 1932), pp. 169–170, agrees that Origen must have read more than he cites. The most recent aid is G. Dorival, "L'apport d'Origène pour la connaissance de la philosophie grecque," *Origeniana Quinta* (Leuven, 1992), pp. 189–216. E. Bammel, "Die Zitate in Origenes' Schrift wider Celsus," *Origeniana Quarta* (Innsbruck-Vienna, 1987), pp. 2–6, is quite sceptical about what Origen knew of the authors he cites. Helpful in general are H. Crouzel, *Origène et la philosophie*, *Théologie* 52 (Paris, 1962), pp. 19–67, and the notes to H. Chadwick's translation of the *Contra Celsum* (Cambridge, 1953; corrected 1965), together with his "Origen, Celsus, and the Stoa," *JTS* 48 (1947), pp. 34–49.

<sup>188</sup> *HE* VI.19.8, trans. Oulton.

<sup>189</sup> Pace, P. Koetschau, *Origenes Werke*, p. xxxix, who thinks that Porphyry's description of the authors Origen knew derives primarily from what Porphyry read in the *Contra Celsum*. It is difficult to know whether the church historian Socrates' reference (probably dependent on Eusebius' *Against Porphyry*) to Porphyry's bad experience at the hands of Christians at Caesarea is reliable: "for that man [sc. Porphyry], having suffered blows from certain Christians in Caesarea in Palestine . . ." (ἐκεῖνος [sc. Πορφύριος] μὲν γὰρ πληγὰς ἐν Καισαρείᾳ τῆς Παλαιστίνης ὑπὸ τινῶν Χριστιανῶν εἰληφώς) (*HE* III.23 [PG 67: 444C]).



Porphry's testimony is accurate in the cases of these two philosophers.<sup>190</sup> And while some scholars believe it unlikely that Origen was familiar with Longinus' works, there is no reason why Origen could not have possessed some of the works of this man, his younger contemporary.<sup>191</sup> Origen also once makes reference to a book on comets that he has read by Chaeremon the Stoic, and it is possible that there were others by this author in the library at Caesarea.<sup>192</sup> Otherwise, except for a reference to Cornutus by Jerome,<sup>193</sup> nothing directly connects the remaining authors named by Porphyry to Origen.

Nevertheless, it does not seem rash to conjecture that Origen possessed works by these other philosophers: that is, in addition to Cornutus the Stoic, then, Cronius, the otherwise unknown Apollophanes, and the Pythagoreans Moderatus of Gades and Nicomachus of Gerasa.<sup>194</sup> The "distinguished men among the Pythagoreans," if not Cronius, Apollophanes, Moderatus, or Nicomachus, may be the source of Origen's references to books of Pythagoras (*CC* V.57) and a Pythagorean interpretation of Homer (*CC* VII.6).<sup>195</sup> Origen was evidently interested in the allegorical method of interpretation used by Chaeremon and Cornutus, but Porphyry's list may also reflect the usefulness of some of the authors in Origen's school at Caesarea, since Chaeremon's treatise *On Comets*, even if a philosophical treatise, could still have furnished information for teaching astronomy,

<sup>190</sup> Note also that Jerome, *Ep.* 70.4.3, names Plato and Numenius as philosophers used by Origen in his *Stromateis*.

<sup>191</sup> K. O. Weber, *Origenes der Neuplatoniker: Versuch einer Interpretation* (Munich, 1962), p. 36, even proposed emending the name of Longinus to Albinus. See further the section above on Longinus.

<sup>192</sup> *CC* I.59: ἀνέγνωμεν δ' ἐν τῷ περὶ κομητῶν Χαϊρήμονος τοῦ Στωικοῦ συγγράμματι. . . . It is, of course, possible that Origen simply remembers having read this work at Alexandria. Chaeremon also wrote a history of Egypt, a work on hieroglyphs, and a work on grammar. See H.-R. Schwyzer, *Chaeremon*, *Klassisch-Philologische Studien* 4 (Leipzig, 1932); M. Frede, "Chaeremon der Stoiker," *ANRW* II.36.3 (1989), pp. 2067–2103.

<sup>193</sup> The reference is again Jerome's *Ep.* 70.4.3, regarding Origen's *Stromateis*.

<sup>194</sup> On Cornutus, see recently G. W. Most, "Cornutus and Stoic Allegoresis: a Preliminary Report," *ANRW* II.36.3 (1989), pp. 2014–2065. Porphyry, *VP* 14.12, names Cronius as one of the authors examined by Plotinus in his school at Rome. On Moderatus and Nicomachus, see J. Dillon, *Middle Platonists*, pp. 344–361.

<sup>195</sup> G. Dorival, "Origène," *Origeniana Quinta*, p. 193, has little confidence in Porphyry's evidence and so hesitates to connect either of these references in the *Contra Celsum* to any of the authors Porphyry names. In his translation (p. 400, note 2), H. Chadwick notes that the second passage is sometimes referred to Numenius, but Chadwick thinks it unlikely that Origen would neglect to name Numenius if he were quoting Numenius.



and Nicomachus of Gerasa's *Introduction to Arithmetic* may likewise have helped Origen to introduce students to mathematics.<sup>196</sup> Such a work as Cornutus' school-text entitled *Epidrome*, though no evidence attests Origen's knowledge of it, could similarly have been used with students.<sup>197</sup>

It is possible that some of what Origen knew of the philosophers named by Porphyry came from intermediate sources.<sup>198</sup> But, Porphyry lists relatively recent philosophers; much more likely is that Origen's knowledge of early philosophers, especially the Presocratics, came from intermediaries.<sup>199</sup> Another example of an intermediate source likely appears in Origen's reference to Hermippus' *Περὶ νομοθετῶν* (*On Lawgivers*), since Josephus also knew this author.<sup>200</sup> It is possible that Origen's reference to Aristander at *CC* VI.8 also comes from some intermediate source. In addition to doxographies, handbooks, and the texts of other philosophers that Origen must have had available, Origen apparently used lexica, including at least one Aristotelian work and a Stoic lexicon by Herophilus.<sup>201</sup> Origen's reference to physiognomists at *CC* I.33 implies that either Origen knew the individual works of Zopyrus, Loxus, and Polemon or he knew the views of these physiognomists through some intermediary.

Origen knew the doctrines of Epicureanism and, at an even deeper level, Stoicism.<sup>202</sup> Some information about these schools came, no

<sup>196</sup> See P. F. Beatrice, "Porphyry's Judgment on Origen," *Origeniana Quinta* (Leuven, 1992), p. 355, for the suggestion that Origen used the mathematical works of Nicomachus and Numenius in his teaching at Caesarea.

<sup>197</sup> On the pedagogical character of the *Epidrome*, see G. W. Most, "Cornutus and Stoic Allegoresis," *ANRW* II.36.3 (1989), pp. 2029–2034.

<sup>198</sup> Cf. P. Nautin, *Origène*, p. 202.

<sup>199</sup> So, for example, Pherecydes (*CC* IV.89; IV.97; VI.43); Empedocles (*CC* V.49); Anaxagoras (*CC* V.11); Democritus (*CC* I.43; II.41; VII.66; VIII.45). An exception might be Antiphon's *Τὰ περὶ ἀληθείας* (*CC* IV.25). See G. Dorival, "Origène," *Origeniana Quinta*, pp. 192–193.

<sup>200</sup> *CC* I.15. The source may be Josephus, *Contra Apionem* I.22, 163–165. G. Dorival, "Origène," *Origeniana Quinta*, p. 195, however, disputes this attribution.

<sup>201</sup> On lexica in general, see R. Cadiou, "Dictionnaires antiques dans l'oeuvre d'Origène," *REG* 45 (1932), pp. 271–285; E. Klostermann, "Über kommene Definitionen im Werke des Origenes," *ZNW* 37 (1938), pp. 54–61. See also G. Dorival, "Origène," *Origeniana Quinta*, pp. 195 and 198. Origen refers to Herophilus' lexicon in the preface to his commentary on the Psalms as *Περὶ στωικῆς ὀνομάτων χρήσεως* (*On the Stoic Use of Words*).

<sup>202</sup> H. Chadwick, "Stoa," *JTS* (1947), pp. 34–49; G. Dorival, "Origène," *Origeniana Quinta*, pp. 195–196 and 198–199. Also on Origen's knowledge of Epicureanism, see J. Ferguson, "Epicureanism under the Roman Empire," *ANRW* II.36.4 (1990), pp. 2304–2305; C. Marksches, "Epikureismus bei Origenes und in der origenisti-

doubt, from handbooks and doxographies,<sup>203</sup> but it is possible that Origen also used works directly. For example, Origen may have possessed the Stoic Zeno's *Republic*<sup>204</sup> and some work by Musonius Rufus,<sup>205</sup> since he quotes once from each author. Origen very likely possessed some works by Chrysippus, with whom Origen shows a general familiarity (CC I.40; II.12; V.57). Chrysippus' θεραπευτικὸς περὶ παθῶν and Περί ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν εἰσαγωγή are both used by Origen in the *Contra Celsum*,<sup>206</sup> and Origen's quotation of a passage of Euripides (*Phoenissae* 18–20) may suggest that Origen also possessed a copy of Chrysippus' *De fato*.<sup>207</sup>

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schen Tradition," *Epikureismus in der späten Republik und der Kaiserzeit*, M. Erler, ed., Philosophie der Antike 11 (Stuttgart, 2000), pp. 190–204.

<sup>203</sup> So C. Marksches, "Epikureismus bei Origenes," pp. 201–203, is inclined to think that Origen's knowledge of Epicureanism came entirely from handbooks and lexica.

<sup>204</sup> Origen quotes from Zeno's *Republic* at CC I.5, though the passage also appears in Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis* V.76, and Plutarch, *Moralia* 1034b, and H. Chadwick, "Stoa," *JTS* (1947), p. 34, accordingly deems the passage a "stock quotation." Zeno's quip at CC VIII.35 certainly need not have come directly from one of Zeno's works (cf. Plutarch, *Moralia* 462c). G. Dorival, "Origène," *Origeniana Quinta*, pp. 196, reviews Origen's references to Zeno but does not pronounce judgment on whether Origen knew any of Zeno's works directly.

<sup>205</sup> R. Cadiou, *Commentaires inédits des Psaumes: étude sur les textes d'Origène contenus dans le manuscrit Vindobonensis 8* (Paris, 1936), p. 118 (on Ps. 118: 161). H. Chadwick, "Stoa," *JTS* (1947), p. 40, note 3, and G. Dorival, "Origène," *Origeniana Quinta*, p. 198, are both inclined to think that Origen did know some of Musonius' writings.

<sup>206</sup> Origen quotes from the first work at CC I.64 and VIII.51. According to G. Dorival, "Origène," *Origeniana Quinta*, p. 197, the *Therapeutic*, or ethical book, was a fourth book of the *On Passions*, while the first three were devoted to logic. Origen refers to the *Introduction to the Subject of Good and Evil* at CC IV.63 (and cf. IV.64). On Origen's knowledge of this text, see J. M. Rist, "Beyond Stoic and Platonist: a Sample of Origen's Treatment of Philosophy (*Contra Celsum*: 4.62–70)," *JAC* 10 (1983), pp. 228–238. An additional passage in the *Contra Celsum* is sometimes thought to show Origen's direct use of one of Chrysippus' works, CC IV.48, a citation of Chrysippus' interpretation of an obscene picture at Samos. While H. Chadwick, "Stoa," *JTS* (1947), p. 34, thinks it merely "part of the usual Christian polemic against the philosophers," G. Dorival, "Origène," *Origeniana Quinta*, p. 197, suggests that Origen is referring to Chrysippus' *On the Ancient Physiologie*.

<sup>207</sup> J. Whittaker, in a note in *Alcinoos, Enseignement des doctrines de Platon*, P. Louis, trans. (Paris, 1990), p. 134, reasonably suggests that Origen borrowed the passage from Chrysippus. The three lines 18–20 do not (apparently) appear elsewhere together before Origen (later, see Calcidius, *In Tim.* 153), and Chrysippus is generally credited with using Euripides' passage. For the testimonia, see D. J. Mastronarde and J. M. Bremer, *The Textual Tradition of Euripides' Phoinissai*, U. of CA Publications: Classical Studies 27 (Berkeley, 1982), pp. 404–405. Lines 18–19 occur at Lucian 20.13; Maximus of Tyre, 1.19, 368; Zenob. 2.68 (*Paroem. gr.* I.50). Lines 19–20 occur at Alexander of Aphrodisias, *De fato* 31; Diodorus Siculus 4.64.1; Oenomaus (in parts, apud *PE* VI.7.22, 25, and 30). Alcinoos, *Didaskalia* 26 (179), cites only

Of course, one may suppose that Origen left a copy of Celsus' *True Doctrine*, Ἀληθὴς λόγος, in the library at Caesarea. But a few other works Origen knew and probably possessed can also be identified. Origen makes reference in the *Contra Celsum* to a work entitled *On the Voice*.<sup>208</sup> In the same work Origen quotes one of the *Sentences* (γνώμαι) of Sextus.<sup>209</sup> Some work on astronomy must lie behind Origen's discussion of the precession of the equinoxes in his *Commentary on Genesis*.<sup>210</sup> For his interpretation of the word τοπαζιον in Psalm 118:127, Origen seems to have used a lapidary, probably the *Lithognomon* of Xenocrates of Ephesus.<sup>211</sup> And it is possible that Origen possessed and used some of Galen's medical treatises.<sup>212</sup>

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line 19. E. Bammel, "Die Zitate in Origenes' Schrift wider Celsus," *Origeniana Quarta*, p. 3, however, thinks that Origen may simply have drawn the passage from Celsus.

<sup>208</sup> CC II.72: . . . ὅ τι ποτὲ λέγεται ἐν τοῖς περὶ φωνῆς ἢ ἀναγραφομένη φωνῇ τοῦ θεοῦ. . . . Cf. CC VI.62.

<sup>209</sup> CC VIII.30; also *Comm. in Matth.* 15.3; *Hom. in Ezech.* 1.11. In the edition by H. Chadwick, *The Sentences of Sextus*, Texts and Studies, n.s. 5 (Cambridge, 1959), these references are maxims 109, 13 and 273, and 352, respectively; Chadwick discusses the evidence of Origen on pp. 107–116.

<sup>210</sup> *Comm. in Gen.* III.13 = *Philocalia* 23.18 (E. Junod, ed., SC #226 [Paris, 1976], pp. 191–195).

<sup>211</sup> The main evidence comes from a *catena* on the Psalms (Ps. 118:127); see M. Harl, ed. (with G. Dorival), *La Chaîne palestinienne sur le Psaume 118*, SC #190 (Paris, 1972), pp. 391–393, with note on pp. 712–713. Origen also refers to books about stones in *Comm. in Matt.*, and Harl cites a paraphrase of Origen's commentary in Vaticanus gr. 754 that names Origen's source as the *Lithognomon* of Xenocrates: περὶ τοῦ τοπαζίου λίθου τοιαῦτα εὔρομεν ἱστορούμενα ἐν τῷ ἐπιγεγραμμένῳ Ξενοκράτους λιθογνώμων. Although it is not possible to date precisely Origen's work on this Psalm, in "Origen's Use of Xenocrates of Ephesus," *Vigiliae Christianae* 45 (1991), pp. 278–285, A. Scott discusses additional evidence from works composed at Caesarea (the *Contra Celsum* and commentaries on Amos and Matthew) that suggests that Origen possessed Xenocrates' *Lithognomon* at Caesarea.

<sup>212</sup> R. M. Grant, "Paul, Galen, and Origen," *JTS* 34 (1983), pp. 533–536, suggests on the basis of CC I.8–10 and a fragment of the thirty-ninth homily on Jeremiah (*Philocalia* II.2) that Origen used Galen's *De libris propriis*, *De usu partium*, and *De ordine librorum suorum*.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### WORKS OF POETRY AND ORATORY

#### A. POETRY

*Anonymous* Eusebius quotes an anonymous verse at *PE* XI.6.37. This passage is otherwise unknown, and Eusebius himself admits that he does not know the author of the lines.<sup>1</sup> While it is apparent that Eusebius produced the verse from memory, the source he recalled cannot be identified.

*Homer and Hesiod* Eusebius certainly read Homer and Hesiod in his youth, but whether he returned to these poets after his early schooling is doubtful. There are few references to the works of these famous poets. Eusebius borrows quotations of Homer and Hesiod from other authors, and he also uses several phrases from Homer, as well as one from Hesiod, that appear to be reminiscences.

Consider first the borrowed quotations of Homer. At *Contra Hieroclem* 6, Eusebius alludes to *Odyssey* VIII.274–275 when he tells how the structures of the universe are “arranged by indissoluble laws and unbreakable bonds,” διατέθενται νόμοις ἀλύτοις καὶ δεσμοῖς ἀρρήκτοις, with reference to the unbreakable chains with which Hephaestus ensnared Ares and Aphrodite.<sup>2</sup> The scene is, of course, well-known, but M. Kertsch has pointed out some parallel usages in Philo that may have inspired Eusebius’ choice of words: *De confusione linguarum* 166 and *De migratione Abrahami* 181 both refer to δεσμοὶ ἄρρηκτοι in a cosmological sense (that is, with reference to the natural laws of the universe).<sup>3</sup> Four other allusions and one quotation of Homer in

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<sup>1</sup> When Eusebius introduces the poem, he says: καὶ τῶν παρ’ Ἑλλήσι δὲ σοφῶν οὐκ οἶδ’ ὅπόθεν τις τοῦτο μαθὼν ἠνίξατο, ὧδέ πη δι’ ἐπῶν φήσας. . . . (“And someone of the sages among the Greeks, having learned this I know not where, spoke in riddles, saying thus in verse. . . .”)

<sup>2</sup> Homer, *Odyssey*, VIII.274–275: . . . δεσμοὺς ἀρρήκτους ἀλύτους, “bonds unbreakable and indissoluble.” But see Chapter II on the disputed authorship of the *Contra Hieroclem*.

<sup>3</sup> M. Kertsch, “Traditionelle Rhetorik und Philosophie in Eusebius’ Antirrhetikos

the *Contra Hieroclem* are clearly made with reference to Philostratus' *Vita Apollonii Tyanensis*.<sup>4</sup> And at M. Pal. 1.1 Eusebius reports the line from the *Iliad* (2.204–205) spoken by the martyr Procopius of Scythopolis at his interrogation.

Next, consider the reminiscences of Homer. Several times Eusebius utilizes Homeric phrases in his works, and these phrases, while not unique to Eusebius, are so brief that they suggest that Eusebius produced them from memory.<sup>5</sup> A list of these uses, by no means exhaustive, is provided below:

- (1) *Contra Hieroclem*, 23: ἰστὸν ἐποικομένων (cf. *Iliad*, I.31 and *Odyssey*, V.62);
- (2) *De eccl. theol.*, I.12 (p. 72, 28–29) and II.20 (p. 129, 21): πατέρα ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε (cf. *Iliad*, I.544);
- (3) *PE* IV.3.3: λοιβῆς τε κνίσης τε (cf. *Iliad*, IV.49 and XXIV.70);
- (4) *Laus Const.*, prologue 2: πάτον ἀνθρώπων ἀλεείνων (cf. *Iliad*, VI.202);
- (5) *Laus Const.*, 6.4: οὐ σειρῇ χρυσῇ κατὰ τὸ ποιητικὸν ἐνδυσάμενος (reference to *Iliad*, VIII.19);
- (6) *Contra Marcellum*, I.2 (p. 9, 10): ἢ λάθεται ἢ οὐκ ἐνόησεν (cf. *Iliad*, IX.537);
- (7) *PE* VI.6.71: πᾶν μέτρον ἡλικίας (cf. *Iliad*, XI.225 and *Odyssey*, IV.668);<sup>6</sup>
- (8) *VC* III.43.5: ἐπ' αὐτῷ γήραος οὐδῶ (cf. *Iliad*, XXII.60);
- (9) *Laus Const.*, 8.4 (and *VC* III.54.6): οἶον δὲ καὶ τοδ' ἔρεξε (cf. *Odyssey*, IV.242);
- (10) *PE* VI.3.3: τῶν ἀγαθῶν δοτήρας (cf. *Odyssey*, VIII.325);

gegen Hierokles,” *Vigiliae Christianae* 34 (1980), p. 150. Kertsch also cites similar usages in Philo, *De praemiis poenitis* 81 and Plutarch, *Pelopidas* 13.

<sup>4</sup> *Contra Hier.*, 19 (cf. *Iliad*, XVIII.373–377); 38 (quotation of *Iliad*, XXII.13); 18 (cf. *Iliad* XXIV.527–528); 8 (cf. *Odyssey*, IV.365, 455–456); 28 (cf. *Odyssey*, XI.24–25).

<sup>5</sup> All of the first five phrases are found in the first half of the *Iliad*, which was the common material of study in early education: see R. Cribiore, “A Homeric Writing Exercise and Reading Homer in School,” *Tyche* 9 (1994), pp. 4–5.

<sup>6</sup> The Homeric passages that K. Mras, *PE*, I.312, refers to here mention, however, the ἡβης μέτρον. Thus, *Iliad*, XI.225: αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ῥ' ἡβης ἐρικυδέος ἵκετο μέτρον; *Odyssey*, IV.668: Ζεὺς ὀλέσσει βίην πρὶν ἡβης μέτρον ἰκέσθαι. Perhaps Eusebius means rather for the whole passage to allude to Gal. 3:28, I Cor. 12:13, and Col. 3:11. *PE* VI.6.71 runs: καὶ τίς ἂν ὀρθὸς τοῦτο συγχωρήσει λόγος, νέους κατὰ ταῦτο καὶ πρεσβύτας καὶ πᾶν μέτρον ἡλικίας ἀρρένων τε καὶ θηλειῶν γένη φύσεις τε βαρβάρων ἀνδρῶν, οἰκετικῶν ὁμοῦ καὶ ἐλευθερίων, λογίων τε καὶ παιδείας ἀμετόχων . . . (“But what sound reason would allow us to say this, that young and old together, of every age, and of either sex, men of barbarous nature, slaves and free, learned and uneducated . . .” [trans. Gifford].)

- (11) *Laus Const.*, 9.8 (and *VC* II.16.2): νεκρῶν εἶδωλα καμόντων (cf. *Odyssey*, XI.476).

Eusebius does, however, also quote full lines of Homer. Twice, in his *Comm. in Psalmos* and at *VC* IV.7.1, Eusebius quotes the well-known line describing the Ethiopians as the most distant of men (*Odyssey* I.23).<sup>7</sup> And in his Tricennial Oration, the *Laus Constantini* (2.5), Eusebius cites the slightly modified line of *Iliad* IV.102. These quotations, however, may likewise come from memory.

There are also borrowed quotations of Hesiod. At *PE* IV.17.9, Eusebius makes allusion to Hesiod, *OD*, 252–253: τρισμύριοι φύλακες μερόπων ἀνθρώπων. Eusebius' source, however, was probably not the original lines of Hesiod<sup>8</sup> but rather the somewhat altered form of these lines in Clement of Alexandria's *Protrepticus*, II.41.1: τρις γὰρ μύριοι εἰσιν ἐπὶ χθονὶ πουλυβοτείρη/δαίμονες ἀθάνατοι, φύλακες μερόπων ἀνθρώπων.<sup>9</sup> That both Clement and Eusebius discuss demons when they adduce or allude to this passage of Hesiod confirms this judgment.

An extended quotation of Hesiod, *OD*, 277–280, appears in the Syriac text of the *Theophania*, I.52 (Gressmann, p. 66, 18): "For fish, so it is said, and birds and beasts eat each other, because there is no law among them. But, to men he gave justice, which is better for them."<sup>10</sup> It is another popular passage, but, if Eusebius did not use Hesiod directly, then Eusebius surely drew the quotation from

<sup>7</sup> Eusebius alters the line (Αἰθίοπας, τοὶ διχθὰ δεδαΐαται, ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν) slightly to fit his syntax. The passage in the *Comm. in Psalmos* appears at PG 23.805, 27. Various other authors also quote this line: for example, Strabo, *Geogr.* 1.1.6.2; 1.2.24.4; 1.2.24.12; 1.2.26.20; Tryphon Gramm., *Περὶ τρόπων* 203.5; Hermogenes of Tarsus, *Περὶ μεθόδου δεινότητος* 9.6.

<sup>8</sup> Hesiod, *OD*, 252–253: τρις γὰρ μύριοι εἰσιν ἐπὶ χθονὶ πουλυβοτείρη/ἀθάνατοι Ζηνὸς φύλακες θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων. ("For there are thrice ten thousand of Zeus' immortal guardians of mortals on the much-nourishing earth.")

<sup>9</sup> The source was not Sextus Empiricus, *Adv. math.*, IX.86, because he faithfully reproduces both lines of Hesiod; nor was it Oenomaus at *PE* V.36.2, since he gives the lines, with editorial additions, down to ἀθάνατοι; nor was it Clement at *Protrepticus*, X.103.2, since he roughly reproduces the quotation down to ἀθάνατοι.

<sup>10</sup> I translate Gressman's German translation of the Syriac: *Denn die Fische, wie es heisst, Vögel und Tiere fressen einander, deswegen weil es kein Gesetz unter ihnen gibt. Den Menschen aber hat er die Gerechtigkeit gegeben, die besser ist für sie.* The original Greek source, if not the text itself, must have been these lines in Hesiod: ἰχθύσι μὲν καὶ θηρσὶ καὶ οἰωνοῖς πετεηνοῖς/ἔσθθιν ἀλλήλους, ἐπεὶ οὐ δίκη ἐστὶ μετ' αὐτοῖς/ἀνθρώποισι δ' ἔδωκε δίκην, ἣ πολλὸν ἀρίστη/γίνεται. ("[It is Zeus' law] that fish, and beasts, and winged birds eat each other, since there is no justice among them; but, to men he gave justice, which is by far the best.")

Clement, *Stromateis*, I.29.181.6, which includes the evaluation of justice at the end: “that fish, and beasts, and winged birds eat each other, since there is no justice among them; but, to men he gave justice, which is by far the best,” ἰχθύσι μὲν καὶ θηρσὶ καὶ οἰωνοῖς πετεηνοῖς/ἐσθήμεν ἀλλήλους, ἐπεὶ οὐ δίκη ἐστὶ μετ’ αὐτῶν./ἀνθρώποισι δ’ ἔδωκε δίκην, ἢ πολλὸν ἀρίστη.<sup>11</sup>

At *PE* I.10.30 Eusebius also makes one approximate quotation of Hesiod, *OD*, 109: πρῶτον χρύσεόν τε γένος μερόπων ἀνθρώπων.<sup>12</sup> This line appears in a short connecting passage between two quotations of Philo of Byblos’ Phoenician history, and for this reason it is plausible that the quotation was drawn from that part of Philo’s text which Eusebius omitted. The connecting passage itself was written by Eusebius, as the modern editors of the *PE*, Gifford, Mras, and Des Places, agree.<sup>13</sup> But, it does not necessarily follow that Eusebius independently inserted the quotation of Hesiod. In the course of excerpting Philo’s text, Eusebius may have taken up an allusion that Philo made to Hesiod.<sup>14</sup> Yet, one cannot exclude the possibility that Eusebius himself supplied the line from memory as an added gibe aimed at the Greek gods.<sup>15</sup> The problem does not yield a clear solution.

Another quotation of Hesiod has a somewhat more secure attribution. At *PE* XIV.4.15 Eusebius reproduces a slightly altered line of Hesiod (*OD*, 42), a favorite saying of Arcesilaus, one of Plato’s successors at the Academy: “for the gods have hidden their thought from men,” κρύψαντες γὰρ ἔχουσι θεοὶ νόον ἀνθρώποισιν.<sup>16</sup> This verse is most likely drawn from Numenius’ *De Academiae erga Platonem dis-*

<sup>11</sup> Plutarch, *De sollertia animalium*, 964b7, quotes from verse 277 to δίκην in verse 279; Sextus Empiricus, *Adv. math.*, II.32.3, quotes only verses 277–278; Porphyry, *De abstinentia*, I.5.14, quotes only to δίκην, to which he adds πρὸς ἀλλήλους.

<sup>12</sup> Hesiod, *OD*, 109: χρύσεον μὲν πρῶτιστα γένας μερόπων ἀνθρώπων, “first of all, a golden race of mortal men.”

<sup>13</sup> F. Jacoby, *FGrH* 3C.790, fr. 2, however, prints the connecting passage as if it were from the text of Philo of Byblos.

<sup>14</sup> Philo does make use of Hesiod in, for example, his *De diversis verborum significationibus* (see the index of V. Palmieri’s edition [Naples, 1988], p. 255), so it is evident that Philo knew and quoted Hesiod’s works.

<sup>15</sup> A. I. Baumgarten, *The Phoenician History of Philo of Byblos: a Commentary* (Leiden, 1981), p. 212, in recognizing that the connecting passage’s sharp words should be assigned to Eusebius’ authorship, apparently also attributes the allusion to Hesiod to Eusebius.

<sup>16</sup> The word νόον replaces Hesiod’s βίον.



*sensu*, which seems to be the source of all of the information given in *PE* XIV.4.13–16.<sup>17</sup>

Lastly, there is a reminiscence of Hesiod, *OD* 228, in Eusebius' Tricennial Oration (*Laus Constantini*, 8.9). Eusebius expands Hesiod's, "peace, the nurse of children throughout the earth," εἰρήνη δ' ἄνα γῆν κουροτρόφος into "peace, both good and the nurse of children, which embraced the rest of the world," εἰρήνη τε λοιπὸν ἀγαθὴ καὶ κουροτρόφος τὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων διελάμβανεν οἰκητήριον.

It is, in sum, evident that Eusebius could recall well-known passages from Homer, and it seems that he could do likewise with Hesiod, though the evidence of Eusebius' direct recollection of Hesiod is slight. The longer Homeric and Hesiodic passages that Eusebius reproduces generally come from intermediaries. No doubt Eusebius read Homer and Hesiod in his school-days, but he does not make much direct use of them in his writing.

*Other Poets* At *PE* III.13.19, in a discussion of the philosophical understanding of pagan theology, Eusebius mentions Asclepius and quotes three lines of *Pindar* (*Pythian* III.55 and 57–58). The same three lines, however, appear in Clement of Alexandria's *Protrepticus* II.30.1, with which Eusebius' text shares two important variants from Pindar's text.<sup>18</sup> It is most likely that Eusebius drew his quotation from Clement.

Similarly, the quotation of *Euripides* at *PE* VI.6.2 is not direct. Its source, however, is obscure. Eusebius composed this chapter (VI.6) himself as a refutation of the pagan defense of Fate.<sup>19</sup> His only quotations in the chapter are passages of Scripture and five lines of Euripides, the text of *Phoenissae* 521, together with the four lines of fr. 687 Nauck. E. des Places points out that these lines may be found with several variations in other works of Philo: *De Iosepho* 78; *Quod*

<sup>17</sup> For which see A. J. Carriker, "Some Uses," *JTS* (1996), p. 548.

<sup>18</sup> In verse 57 Clement and Eusebius write ἀμυνοάς, while Pindar writes ἀμυνοάν. In verse 58 Clement and Eusebius write ἔσκηψε, while Pindar writes ἐνέσκημψεν (though one MS has ἐνέσκηψεν). Cf. N. Zeegers-Vander Vorst, *Les citations des poètes grecs chez les apologistes chrétiens du II<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Louvain, 1972), pp. 71–72 and 102. Zeegers-Vander Vorst also demonstrates that Athenagoras' text of this same passage (*Legatio* 29.2) is unrelated to Clement's.

<sup>19</sup> P. Wendland, *Philos Schrift über die Vorsehung* (Berlin, 1892), p. 40, suggests that Eusebius relies on Philo's *De providentia* throughout this chapter. D. Amand, *Fatalisme et liberté dans l'antiquité grecque* (Louvain, 1945), p. 368, believes that Eusebius' source is unknown.



*omnis probus liber sit* 25 and 99; *Legum allegoriae* III.202.<sup>20</sup> These variations must be considered before a determination can be made of Eusebius' source for this quotation.

Eusebius' first line (*Phoenissae* 521) appears in Philo only in the *De Iosepho*, but the other four lines appear in all four of the passages of Philo listed above. In this first line, Eusebius follows the majority of manuscripts in the tradition of Euripides and writes φάσγανα, while Philo writes φάσγανον. In Eusebius' second line, Eusebius begins with τέμνε, while Philo uses either πίμπρα (*De Ios.* 78; *Quod omnis* 99) or ὄπτα (*Quod omnis* 25). In the fourth line, Eusebius writes ἐς οὐρανόν, as Philo does in *Quod omnis* 25, though elsewhere Philo writes εἰς αἰθέρα (*De Ios.* 78; *Quod omnis* 99; *Leg. all.* III.202). Eusebius seems not to have drawn his quotation from a single one of Philo's versions, unless he began with the text in *De Ios.* 78 and simply altered it himself in verses one, two, and four (and thus it is coincidental that Eusebius' choice of ἐς οὐρανόν also appears in *Quod omnis* 25).<sup>21</sup> One may, perhaps, suspect that Eusebius relied here on his memory of Philo's *De Iosepho*.

On the other hand, there is no sure proof that Eusebius' source for the quotation of Euripides was Philo's *De Iosepho*, and so it may be useful to consider another explanation. The discrepancies between Philo's text and Eusebius' text may suggest instead a common source, particularly an anthology of passages dealing with Fate, Providence, and freedom. A similar kind of anthology, one devoted to Providence, Tyche, and the existence of demons has been suggested by scholars as an explanation of the apologist Athenagoras' use of several quotations of Euripides.<sup>22</sup> This anthology, or an anthology like it, may have contained both prose and poetry, but it would certainly have included verses of Euripides, and it may thus have been the origin of the association of *Phoenissae* 521, with fr. 687 Nauck.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>20</sup> SC #266 (1980), p. 130.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. D. J. Mastronarde and J. M. Bremer, *The Textual Tradition of Euripides' Phoinissai*, University of California Publications: Classical Studies 27 (Berkeley, 1982), p. 415, who make Philo, *De Ios.* 78, the source of Eusebius' use of *Phoen.* 521.

<sup>22</sup> Athenagoras, *Legatio* 25. See N. Zeegers-Vander Vorst, *Les poètes grecs*, pp. 175–176, following J. Geffcken, *Zwei griechische Apologeten* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1907), p. 217.

<sup>23</sup> That J. von Arnim, *SVF* III.676, includes fr. 687 Nauck (from the version in Philo, *Leg. all.* III.202) in the collection of Chrysippus' *moralia* may support an argument that any anthology that included this passage of Euripides had its own origins in Chrysippus' work.

Eusebius will in any case have learned some classical poetry in his youth—Euripides in particular, for example, was a staple of the schools—and he may have retained some of these books (anthologies or full texts) in the Caesarean library. Other books of poetry could have survived from Origen's time, for Origen encouraged his students to read poets as well as philosophers (Greg. Thaum., *Pan.* 13). Origen himself shows an ambiguous knowledge of pagan poetry in his *Contra Celsum*. His uses of Euripides, for example, are often common, almost proverbial, passages that will not have had to come from the direct consultation of a text of Euripides,<sup>24</sup> and some of the quotations are even drawn from Celsus' work.<sup>25</sup> Yet, Origen also quotes a passage of Archilochus and several lines of Callimachus.<sup>26</sup> The latter passage turns up in earlier apologists, but it is not repeated in as full length as in the *Contra Celsum*, so that, if Origen did not draw the passage from a text of Callimachus, it is reasonable to conjecture that the passage could be found at Caesarea in some sort of anthology, especially one compiled for Christian apologetic use.<sup>27</sup>

## B. ORATORY

Like poetry, rhetoric will have been one of the subjects of Eusebius' early education, if Eusebius did receive the sort of education that

<sup>24</sup> CC V.23 (fr. 292 Nauck) appears also at Ps-Justin, *De mon.* 5 and Plutarch, *Mor.* 21a and 1049f. CC VIII.44 (*Hippol.* 612) appears also at Plato, *Theat.* 154 and *Symp.* 199a; Cicero, *De offic.* 3.29.108; Justin, *Apol.* 1.39.4; Maximus of Tyre 40.6–7. In the notes to his translation, Chadwick calls both of these passages of Euripides "hackneyed." E. Bammel, "Die Zitate," *Origeniana Quarta*, p. 3, calls the second passage "eine sprichwörtliche Redewendung." CC VII.50 (fr. 638 Nauck) can also be found at Plato, *Gorgias* 492e and Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis* III.3.15. CC I.42 and IV.21 seem to evince a general, educated knowledge.

<sup>25</sup> CC II.34 is a quotation of Celsus. Origen draws CC IV.30 from Celsus, who cites the same passage at IV.77. CC II.20 is noted above in the section on Origen's knowledge of philosophers.

<sup>26</sup> CC III.43 for Callimachus, *Hymn to Zeus* 6–10. CC II.21 for Archilochus, fr. 96 Bergk. The quotation of Archilochus does not appear elsewhere, although Dio Chrysostom alludes to it at *Or.* 74.16. The proverbs found in *Paroemiogr. gr.* (I.24; II.104; II.141; II.266) use different words.

<sup>27</sup> Athenagoras, *Legatio* 30.3 and Clement of Alexandria, *Protrepticus* II.37.4 only quote lines 8–9. Tatian, 27.4–5 and Theophilus, I.10.4 only note the general topic of the tomb of Zeus. M. Borret in SC #136 (Paris, 1968), pp. 102–103, note 1, observes that C. Andresen, *Logos und Nomos: die Polemik des Kelsos wider das Christentum* (Berlin, 1955), thinks that Origen drew these lines of Callimachus from Celsus, but he cautions that Andresen's opinion is merely a possibility, since the passage was obviously useful to apologists.

was common to the elite of his day. Eusebius himself was a competent orator who delivered several public speeches: in praise of a church at Tyre newly consecrated after the persecution (*HE* X.4); on the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem (*VC* IV.45.3); on the same topic, but this time at Constantinople (*VC* IV.33); and in praise of Constantine on the occasion of the emperor's *tricennalia* (*VC* IV.46).<sup>28</sup>

But, again like poets, orators do not figure prominently in Eusebius' works. Eusebius seems not to have returned to them after he completed his initial education; perhaps he found them uninteresting. Of the classical orators, there are two possible uses. At *PE* I.3.9 Eusebius seems to echo a phrase in the second chapter of Demosthenes' *First Olynthiac*.<sup>29</sup> A more distant relationship may exist between Isocrates' *Nicoles* 5–9 and Eusebius. R. M. Grant has argued that Eusebius' idea that Christ the Logos has brought man from barbarism to civilization draws upon Isocrates' argument about eloquence.<sup>30</sup> If Grant is correct, however, it is possible, as he himself points out, that Eusebius derived his knowledge of Isocrates from intermediaries, including even rhetorical handbooks.

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<sup>28</sup> On the speech at Tyre, see C. Smith, "Christian Rhetoric in Eusebius' Panegyric at Tyre," *Vigiliae Christianae* 43 (1989), pp. 226–247; on the other speeches, see H. A. Drake, *In Praise of Constantine: a Historical Study and New Translation of Eusebius' Tricennial Orations*, U. of CA Publications: Classical Studies, vol. 15 (Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1976).

<sup>29</sup> Compare *PE* I.3.9 τῶν πραγμάτων ἐναργῶς οὕτως μονονουχὶ φωνὴν ἀφιέντων with Demosthenes, *Or.* I.2 μόνον οὐχὶ λέγει φωνὴν ἀφίεις ὅτι τῶν πραγμάτων.

<sup>30</sup> R. M. Grant, "Civilization as a Preparation for Christianity in the Thought of Eusebius," *Continuity and Discontinuity in Church History: Essays Presented to George Huntson Williams*, F. F. Church and T. George, edd. (Leiden, 1979), pp. 62–70. Following Grant is his student, A. J. Droge, "The Apologetic Dimensions of the *Ecclesiastical History*," *Eusebius, Christianity, and Judaism* (Leiden, 1992), pp. 496–498.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### HISTORICAL WORKS

*Abydenus* Abydenus compiled a history of the Assyrians and Medes, probably under the Antonines, based on the Assyrian-Babylonian history of Alexander Polyhistor and other sources.<sup>1</sup> Within *PE* IX Eusebius thrice quotes from this work, which he calls the *Περὶ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων* (*De Assyriis*)<sup>2</sup> In the *Chronographia*, the first part of the *Chronicon*, Eusebius quotes from Abydenus' *Περὶ τῆς τῶν Χαλδαίων ἱστορίας* (*Historia Chaldaeorum*) for information on the Chaldaeans (Schoene I.31–43; pp. 15–20 Karst), but it is presumably from this same history that Eusebius once cites Abydenus for information about Assyrian kings (Schoene I.53; pp. 25–26 Karst). Later, when summarizing his sources for Greek and Oriental history in the *Chronographia*, Eusebius lists Abydenus as the author of a history of Assyrians and Medes (Schoene I.263; p. 125 Karst). Even though Eusebius gives different titles when he cites Abydenus in the *PE* and *Chronographia*, he probably used a single Assyrian history by Abydenus.<sup>3</sup>

*Alexander Polyhistor* A captive in the Mithridatic War, Alexander Polyhistor was brought to Rome, where he was freed and given citizenship by Sulla (82 BC) and where he found work as a grammarian. In the succeeding decades Alexander composed numerous geographical and historical works.<sup>4</sup> Eusebius makes direct use of two,

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<sup>1</sup> E. Schwartz, "Abydenos," *RE* I.1 (1893), col. 129. See also P. Schnabel, *Berosos und die babylonisch-hellenistische Literatur* (Leipzig-Berlin, 1923; reprinted Hildesheim, 1968), pp. 164–166, who concludes that Abydenus relied on Polyhistor for his uses of the most important historian of the Babylonians, Berosus.

<sup>2</sup> Eusebius gives the title of Abydenus' work at *PE* IX.14.1 and IX.41.1. Eusebius does not specify this same title at IX.12.1 (ἐγὼ δέ σοι τὰ Μηδικὰ καὶ Ἀσσύρια διελθὼν ἐκ τῆς Ἀβυδηνοῦ γραφῆς . . .; "And I [Eusebius], having gone through for you the *Medica* and *Assyriaca* from the writing of Abydenus . . ."), and P. Schnabel, *Berosos*, pp. 154 and 164 seems to understand Eusebius' words as a reference to a title Ἀσσυριακὰ καὶ Μηδικὰ.

<sup>3</sup> For a table of the passages from Abydenus in both the *PE* and the Armenian version of the *Chron.*, see FGrH III.C.1, #685.

<sup>4</sup> For biographical information on Alexander and a catalogue of his works, see E. Schwartz, "Alexandros (88) von Milet," *RE* I.2 (1894), cols. 1449–1452;

the *Περὶ Ἰουδαίων* (*De Iudaeis*) and the *Χαλδαικά* (*Chaldaica*) (or *Ἀσσυριακά* [*Assyriaca*]).<sup>5</sup>

Polyhistor is the first authority Eusebius quotes in the *Chronographia* for information about the ancient Babylonians.<sup>6</sup> The *Chaldaica*, devoted as it was to Assyrian and Babylonian history, furnished Eusebius with much information from the Babylonian history of Berossus, and, though there has been speculation in the past that Eusebius drew his excerpts of Berossus from Africanus and not Polyhistor, comparison of the fragments of Africanus and Polyhistor indicates that Eusebius' knowledge of Berossus derives from Polyhistor. Eusebius thus used Alexander Polyhistor's *Chaldaica* directly.<sup>7</sup>

The majority of the second half of *PE IX* is composed of lengthy extracts from Polyhistor's *De Iudaeis*. These quotations of Polyhistor themselves contain quotations from a number of Jewish authors: Eupolemus, Artapanus, Molon, Demetrius, Aristaeus the historian, Cleodemus, Theophilus, Timochares, Syriae Mensor, and the poets Philo and Theodotus.<sup>8</sup>

Because, prior to Eusebius, only Josephus and Clement of Alexandria make use of Alexander Polyhistor's work on the Jews, at least one scholar has conjectured that it was Origen who brought Alexander's

J. Freudenthal, *Alexander Polyhistor und die von ihm erhaltenen Reste jüdischer und samaritanischer Geschichtswerke*, Hellenistische Studien, Heft 1–2 (Breslau, 1875), pp. 16–35. On his works cf. also L. Troiani, *Due studi di storiografia religione antiche*, Biblioteca di Athenaeum 10 (Como, 1988), pp. 9–39. The fragments of Polyhistor's writings are collected by F. Jacoby, *FGrH III A 273*.

<sup>5</sup> Eusebius gives the title of the *De Iudaeis* at *PE IX*.17.1. The exact title of Polyhistor's Babylonian-Assyrian history is not known. Eusebius gives no title when he refers to it in his summary of sources for Greek and Oriental history (Schoene I.263; p. 125 Karst), and, when he introduces quotations from Polyhistor, he only generally refers to Polyhistor's work as about the Chaldaeans. P. Schnabel, *Berossos*, pp. 150–154, prefers to call Polyhistor's work the *Ἀσσυριακά*.

<sup>6</sup> Schoene I.7–29; pp. 4–15 Karst; *FGrH III A 273*, F 79; III C.1 680, F 1 and 3–5. Cf. L. Troiani, *Due studi di storiografia religione antiche*, pp. 32–33.

<sup>7</sup> H. Montzka, "Die Quellen zu den assyrisch-babylonischen Nachrichten in Eusebios' Chronik," *Klio* 2 (1902), pp. 360–361, and P. Schnabel, *Berossos*, pp. 154–155, correcting the view supported by, among others, C. Müller, *FHG II.496*, that Eusebius knew Polyhistor through Africanus. Despite their acknowledgement of dependence on Schnabel (p. 27, note 24), G. P. Verbrugge and J. M. Wickersham, *Berossos and Manetho, Introduced and Translated: Native Traditions in Ancient Mesopotamia and Egypt* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1996), seem rather to state Müller's view on pp. 29–30. Schnabel further explains (pp. 155–160) that Eusebius' text of Polyhistor (that is, Polyhistor's excerpts of Berossus) had been interpolated by Jews or early Christians.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. J. Freudenthal, *Alexander Polyhistor*, pp. 3–16. See the collection of C. Holladay, *Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors*, 4 vols. (Chico, CA and Atlanta, 1983–1996).

works from Alexandria to Caesarea.<sup>9</sup> In view of Origen's interest in the Jews, this is a plausible suggestion.<sup>10</sup>

*Cassius Longinus, Phlegon of Tralles, and Thallus* In his summary of sources for Greek and Oriental history in the *Chronographia*, Eusebius includes 18 books by Cassius Longinus covering 228 Olympiads (AD 133–136); 14 books by Phlegon, Caesar's freedman, covering 229 Olympiads (AD 137–140); and three books by Thallus from the Trojan War down to Olympiad 167 (112–109 BC).<sup>11</sup> But none of these authors is quoted in the extant text of the *Chronographia*, and only Phlegon is cited by name in the *Chronici canones* (p. 174d Helm).

Because Cassius Longinus, Phlegon, and Thallus are not directly quoted in the *Chronographia*, it is common to assume that Eusebius knew the works of these authors only at second hand. According to A. A. Mosshammer, this Cassius Longinus was Eusebius' otherwise unidentified source for a list of Olympic victors down to Olympiad 249 (AD 217) (Schoene I.193–219; pp. 89–103 Karst) and probably was, in addition, one of Eusebius' main authorities for Greek history. Mosshammer identifies this Cassius Longinus with the Cassius Longinus who was Porphyry's teacher and suggests that Eusebius obtained the list not from Cassius Longinus directly but from Porphyry's *Chronicle*. Mosshammer further conjectures that Phlegon and Thallus were sources used by Cassius Longinus and that Eusebius includes them in his summary of sources only in this capacity, and not because he used their work directly.<sup>12</sup> Prior to Mosshammer's research, scholars generally believed that Eusebius had borrowed the list of Olympic victors from Julius Africanus, Eusebius' predecessor in Christian chronography,

<sup>9</sup> D. T. Runia, "Caesarea Maritima," *Caesarea Maritima: a Retrospective*, p. 494. For other authors' use of Polyhistor, Runia refers to M. Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism* (Jerusalem, 1974), I.157–164.

<sup>10</sup> There are nevertheless problems: Origen does not seem interested in history, and Polyhistor's compilation is primarily historical. On Origen's lack of interest in history, see J. W. Trigg, *Origen: the Bible and Philosophy in the Third-Century Church* (Atlanta, 1983), pp. 179–181; cf. A. J. Droge, *Homer or Moses? Early Christian Interpretations of the History of Culture* (Tübingen, 1989), pp. 157–158.

<sup>11</sup> There are textual problems with the transmission of the number of Olympiads covered by Cassius Longinus: see A. A. Mosshammer, *Chronicle*, pp. 144–145. Phlegon must have been a freedman of Hadrian: see E. Frank, "Phlegon (2)," *RE* XX.1 (1941), cols. 261–264, and F. Jacoby, *FGrH* II B 257. The fragments of Thallus appear at *FGrH* II B 256.

<sup>12</sup> A. A. Mosshammer, *Chronicle*, pp. 138–146.

and that it was through Africanus that Eusebius knew Cassius Longinus, Phlegon, and Thallus.<sup>13</sup>

Mosshammer has convincingly demonstrated that Africanus' *Chronographiae*, which principally concerned sacred history, is unlikely to have provided the list of Olympic victors,<sup>14</sup> and his suggestion that the unidentified source was instead Cassius Longinus is plausible. But the identification of the Cassius Longinus in the *Chronographia* with Porphyry's teacher is less credible, since there is no evidence that he composed an Olympiad chronicle. R. W. Burgess, moreover, has recently shown that the list of Olympic victors was originally drawn up in ca. 213 and was only later extended to 217, so that Longinus, who was born between 200 and 213, could not have been responsible for its composition.<sup>15</sup> Now untenable, too, though it was not when Mosshammer wrote his book, is the suggestion that Eusebius derived (Cassius Longinus') list of Olympic victors from Porphyry, since the existence of Porphyry's *Chronicle* has now been disproved.<sup>16</sup> If the list of Olympic victors comes from an otherwise unknown Cassius Longinus, then it is possible that Eusebius used Cassius Longinus' 18 books directly, rather than through some intermediary. Despite his view that Eusebius found the list of Olympic victors in Porphyry's *Chronicle*, Mosshammer even admits that Eusebius may have used some of Cassius Longinus' first few books directly.<sup>17</sup>

Now, it is possible that Eusebius names Phlegon and Thallus in his summary of sources simply because they were prominent sources of Cassius Longinus or other sources. So, for example, the single named use of Phlegon in the *Chronici canones*, a reference to an eclipse

<sup>13</sup> In particular, H. Gelzer, *Sextus Julius Africanus und die byzantinische Chronographie*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1880 and 1898; reprinted New York, 1967); E. Schwartz, "Eusebios (24)," *RE* VI.1 (1907), col. 1378.

<sup>14</sup> A. A. Mosshammer, *Chronicle*, pp. 146–157.

<sup>15</sup> R. W. Burgess, *Studies in Eusebian and Post-Eusebian Chronography* (Stuttgart, 1999), pp. 32–33, n. 12. Earlier, in his review of Mosshammer's book, T. D. Barnes had questioned why Porphyry's Longinus, if he had composed the list of Olympic victors, would have ended the list in 217 (*Phoenix* 35 [1981], pp. 100–101). I. Männlein-Robert, *Longin, Philologe und Philosoph: eine Interpretation der erhaltenen Zeugnisse* (Munich-Leipzig, 2001), pp. 104–105, still includes (as Fr. 2) Eusebius' reference to Longinus in her collection of evidence for Longinus, the teacher of Porphyry.

<sup>16</sup> B. Croke, *JTS* 34 (1982), pp. 172–181; T. D. Barnes, *BICS* 39 (1994), pp. 55–57. See the section on Porphyry in Chapter III.

<sup>17</sup> A. A. Mosshammer, *Chronicle*, pp. 157–158. Cf. T. D. Barnes, *CE*, p. 119. R. W. Burgess, *Studies*, p. 32, n. 12, maintains that Eusebius used the list of Olympic victors firsthand.



and earthquake at the time of the Crucifixion, could have easily been borrowed from an intermediary.<sup>18</sup> Yet, Eusebius' inclusion of Phlegon and Thallus (as well as Cassius Longinus) in this list of sources leads one to expect that Eusebius knew the work of the authors, at least in some form. It is true that Eusebius probably did not possess a complete version of Manetho's three books (see below), but he did know at least an epitome; Manetho did not come to him purely through other authors. Likewise, some material from Diodorus (i.e., lists) may have come to Eusebius through intermediaries, but Eusebius elsewhere demonstrates a direct knowledge of Diodorus' history. The remaining authors on the list (Polyhistor, Abydenus, Cephalion, Porphyry) seem to have been known firsthand to Eusebius. Indeed, if a criticism is to be made of Eusebius' summary of his sources, it is rather to be that some works are omitted that Eusebius used directly. Eusebius neglects to include Scripture, Africanus, Josephus, and Clement of Alexandria, although one may account for their omission by recalling that Eusebius indicates his main authorities for Hebrew history within the section on Hebrew history (Schoene I.71; p. 34 Karst)—although even here Clement is not named.

There is, then, a likelihood that the library of Caesarea contained the works of not only Cassius Longinus but also Phlegon and Thallus. While Eusebius may have known all 18 books of the chronicle (or history) by Cassius Longinus, all 14 books of the Olympiad chronicle by Phlegon of Tralles, and all three books of the chronicle (or history) by Thallus, alternatively, he may have possessed only epitomes of these works. In the case of Thallus, extant fragments (FGrH II B 256, F 2–6) indicate that Thallus provided information on events before the Trojan War, so it is possible that Eusebius' three volumes were an abbreviation of a larger work. But Eusebius probably knew these works directly in some form.

*Castor of Rhodes* In his summary of sources for Greek and Oriental history in the *Chronographia*, Eusebius lists six books by Castor that chronicle 181 [179] Olympiads from Ninus, that is, from the beginning of the Assyrian empire to 61 BC.<sup>19</sup> Eusebius quotes once from

<sup>18</sup> Similar information is cited by Africanus (Syncellus, 610) and Origen (CC II.14 and 33). Eusebius' entry is however, fuller than the notices of these other authors.

<sup>19</sup> Schoene I.265; p. 125 Karst. A. A. Mosshammer, *Chronicle*, p. 144, points out



the first book of Castor's *Chronicorum breve volumen*, the Χρονικῶν ἐπιτομή, for information on early Assyrian kings.<sup>20</sup> (Castor's text probably also underlies the list of Assyrian kings at the end of Eusebius' treatment of the Assyrians.)<sup>21</sup> Eusebius later draws passages on the kings of Sicyon, the kings of Argos, and the kings of Athens from Castor, though he does so without specifying the book of Castor's *Chronicle*.<sup>22</sup> Castor also provided Eusebius with information on Roman history: one quotation concerns the kings of Rome, and, though at this point the Armenian manuscript of the *Chronographia* breaks off, one expects that Eusebius quoted from Castor in some of the text that no longer survives.<sup>23</sup>

A. A. Mosshammer has suggested that the material on Assyrian and Greek chronology, and perhaps that on early Rome for which Eusebius cites Castor, all occurred in Castor's first book.<sup>24</sup> But even if this suggestion is correct and Eusebius only quoted from Castor's first book in the extant portion of the *Chronographia*, in the lost text Eusebius may still have used Castor for information about Rome,<sup>25</sup>

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that the number of Olympiads Castor covered ought to be 179 in order to reach 61/60 BC, as Castor did according to Schoene I.295; pp. 142–143 Karst. F. Jacoby, FGrH II B 250, collects the fragments of Castor's work. The Suidas lexicon reports that Castor was from Rhodes. See also Kubitschek, "Kastor (8)," *RE* XX.2 (1919), cols. 2347–2357.

<sup>20</sup> Schoene I.53–55; pp. 26–27 Karst. The Latin title is given by Eusebius, in Petermann's Latin translation of the Armenian text, in the introduction to the quotation.

<sup>21</sup> At Schoene I.55 (p. 26 Karst) Eusebius seems to indicate that the list of Assyrian kings (Schoene I.63–67; pp. 30–32 Karst) comes from Castor. Eusebius probably also used Castor's *Chronicle*, though perhaps other sources, too, for the other lists of kings (Medes, Lydians, Persians). At any rate, none of these lists could have come from Porphyry's *Chronicle*, as A. A. Mosshammer, *Chronicle*, pp. 145–146, supposed, since the existence of this work by Porphyry has now been disproved.

<sup>22</sup> On Sicyon, including the list of kings of Sicyon: Schoene I.173–177; pp. 81–83 Karst. Cf. also p. 64a Helm in the *Chronici canones*. On Argos, including the list of Argive kings: Schoene I.177–179; pp. 83–85 Karst. Cf. also pp. 27g and 45a Helm. On Athens, including the list of Athenian kings: Schoene I.181–189; pp. 85–88 Karst.

<sup>23</sup> Schoene I.295; pp. 142–143 Karst.

<sup>24</sup> A. A. Mosshammer, *Chronicle*, pp. 131 and 135. Mosshammer emphasizes that the Greek regnal lists all overlap the chronology of the list of Assyrian kings (2121–843 BC). In order to account for Eusebius' quotation of Castor on the first Roman kings, it seems, Mosshammer then conjectures that Castor's first book continued to 754 BC, the year before the founding of Rome.

<sup>25</sup> In the excerpt from Castor on Rome's first kings (Schoene I.295; pp. 142–143 Karst), Castor declares his intention to record the kings of Rome after Romulus and the consuls down to Messalla and Piso, the consuls of 61 BC.

and so one need not conclude that Eusebius *possessed* only the first book of Castor's *Chronicle*. Eusebius may have possessed all six books of Castor's *Chronicle*.

*Cephalion* In his summary of sources for Greek and Oriental history in the *Chronographia*, Eusebius names the nine books of Cephalion's Μοῦσαι (*Muses*).<sup>26</sup> Eusebius once quotes from Cephalion's work for information on the kings of Assyria (Schoene I.59–63; pp. 28–30 Karst). The excerpt begins with Ninus, the son of Belus, and ends with the fall of the Assyrian empire, but Eusebius clearly omitted much of Cephalion's text in his quotation, for he interrupts it several times. Eusebius presumably used Cephalion's *Muses* firsthand.

*Diodorus Siculus* Diodorus Siculus composed his *Bibliotheca*, a world history in forty books, between approximately 60 and 30 BC. Eusebius quotes from books I, III, IV, VI, and (once) XX in the first four books and the tenth book of the *PE*. Although Eusebius sometimes (particularly in *PE* II) abbreviates his quotations of Diodorus, he is ordinarily faithful to the text of Diodorus, and it may be presumed that Eusebius made direct use of Diodorus.<sup>27</sup>

In the *Chronographia*, Eusebius quotes from Book II of Diodorus for information on the Assyrians and from Book I for information on the Egyptians.<sup>28</sup> In the section devoted to Greek history Eusebius attributes to Diodorus lists of Thalassocrats and Corinthian, Lacedaemonian, and Macedonian kings, although Eusebius may have excerpted these lists from an intermediate source.<sup>29</sup> Accordingly, Eusebius names

<sup>26</sup> See Schoene I.263 (p. 125 Karst). Karst translates "neun Musischen Büchern." Photius, *cod.* 68, gives the title of Cephalion's work as Σύντομον ἱστορικόν and reports that each of the nine books was named after a Muse. The Suidas lexicon reports that Cephalion flourished under Hadrian and calls the work Παντοδαπαὶ ἱστορίαι. For the evidence, see F. Jacoby, FGrH II A 93; also his "Kephalion (4)," *RE* XI.1 (1921), cols. 191–192.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. G. Bounoure, "Eusèbe citeur de Diodore," *REG* 95 (1982), pp. 433–439, esp. p. 437.

<sup>28</sup> Schoene I.55–59; pp. 27–28 Karst (on the Assyrians) and Schoene I.131–133; pp. 62–63 Karst (on the Egyptians). Eusebius cites the book of Diodorus from which he quotes in each case.

<sup>29</sup> Schoene I.219–227; pp. 103–109 Karst. A. A. Mosshammer, *Chronicle*, pp. 131, states: "The excerpts from Diodorus [on Greek history], however, certainly reached Eusebius in an epitomized form. The immediate source may have been the *Chronicle* of Porphyry. . . ." (Cf. also Mosshammer, pp. 140 and 167–168). While Eusebius' source for the Diodoran lists could not have been any *Chronicle* by Porphyry (see

Diodorus in his list of sources for Oriental and Greek history (Schoene I.263; p. 125 Karst). Eusebius also names Diodorus as one of his principal sources for early Roman history, and, though only one quotation of Diodorus (from Book VII) occurs before the Armenian text breaks off, one may expect that Eusebius used Diodorus in the missing part of the *Chronographia*.<sup>30</sup>

Eusebius seems, then, to have possessed at least the first seven books of Diodorus as well as the twentieth book. Whether the library at Caesarea contained the other thirty-two books, however, is not known. In the summary of Oriental and Greek sources, Eusebius lists Diodorus' "forty books," but this statement cannot be accepted on faith, since, as is noted below, Eusebius claims Manetho's three books as a source, even though Eusebius seems to have known Manetho's work only in epitomized form and not in its complete three books. While Eusebius may have possessed the full forty books of Diodorus, it is also possible that his copy was incomplete.

According to the suggestion of G. Zecchini, Origen may have known Diodorus' work at Caesarea and may thus be responsible for bringing the work to the library he founded.<sup>31</sup> Zecchini, relying on the index of P. Koetschau's edition of the *Contra Celsum*, refers to six passages that possibly depend on the information of Diodorus.<sup>32</sup> The parallels are, however, tenuous, since they are largely examples commonly found in much other literature,<sup>33</sup> but if Origen did know and

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the section above on Porphyry), it is possible that Mosshammer is correct to believe that the lists were not compiled by Eusebius directly from Diodorus. On the other hand, G. Zecchini, "La conoscenza di Diodoro nel tardoantico," *Aevum* 61 (1987), p. 47, seems to assume that Eusebius relied on Diodorus directly.

<sup>30</sup> Eusebius begins the section on the Romans at Schoene I.265 (pp. 125–126 Karst) with an appeal to Dionysius of Halicarnassus and, presumably, Diodorus, since he is the next authority quoted, at Schoene I.283–289 (pp. 136–139 Karst), although the lists of early Roman kings at Schoene I.289–291 (pp. 139–140 Karst) probably also derive from Diodorus.

<sup>31</sup> G. Zecchini, *Aevum* (1987), p. 48.

<sup>32</sup> Origen, *Contra Celsum*, II.17 (which is mistakenly listed as II.67 in Zecchini's article) and Diodorus, XI.9.4; *CC* III.22 and Diod. IV.71.1–3; *CC* IV.67 and V.20 and Diod. IX.18–19, XIII.90, XX.71, and XXXII.25; *CC* V.21 and Diod. I.98.2; *CC* V.27 and Diod. XIII.86.3 and XX.14.4.

<sup>33</sup> *CC* II.17 more likely depends on Plutarch, *Apophth. Lacon.*, 225d. *CC* III.22 may also be compared to Apollodorus, *Bibl.*, II.6.3 (131–132) and III.10.4 (122). *CC* IV.67 and V.20 use common examples (see H. Chadwick, *Origen's Contra Celsum* [Cambridge, 1953/1965], p. 237, n. 5, for other uses of these examples). *CC* V.21 is a very general reference to Egyptian sages; Zecchini admits that there are other possible sources than Diodorus. *CC* V.27 also uses common examples (cf. H. Chadwick, *Contra Celsum*, p. 284, note 3).

use Diodorus when he composed the *Contra Celsum* in Caesarea, it is possible that he himself brought the work to Caesarea.

*Dionysius of Halicarnassus* The rhetorician and historian Dionysius (fl. 10 BC) produced, in addition to literary treatises, twenty books of *Antiquitates Romanae*, from the first two books of which Eusebius quotes, in general quite reliably, twice in *PE* IV and once in *PE* II. In the *Chronographia* Eusebius explicitly names Dionysius as one of his chief sources for the history of early Rome.<sup>34</sup> In the extant portion of the Armenian text Eusebius draws four passages from his *Antiquities*, all from Dionysius' first book. There is no reason to believe that Eusebius did not know and use directly at least the first two books of this work.

*Manetho* When Eusebius composed his *Chronicon*, he found the work of the Egyptian priest Manetho a useful source of information about the chronology of ancient Egypt. Eusebius reproduces in the *Chronographia* a long extract from Manetho's Αἰγυπτιακά (*Egyptian History*).<sup>35</sup> The extract is drawn from each of the three books of Manetho's work and lists the Egyptian kings in thirty-one dynasties, omitting most narrative.

Even though in his own *Chronographiae* Julius Africanus also seems to have included Manetho's list of Egyptian kings, Eusebius' list differs from Africanus' and scholars have concluded that Eusebius and Africanus used Manetho independently. But, Eusebius (and, it seems, Africanus) probably did not use Manetho's complete text. It is likely that Manetho's text, which was written in the third century BC, was later epitomized, since the chronological information—especially the tabulation of Egyptian kings—was crucial to both Jews and Egyptians in their debate over which of their nations was the more ancient. Eusebius probably used one of the abbreviated versions that were

<sup>34</sup> Schoene I.265; p. 126 Karst.

<sup>35</sup> The extract appears at Schoene I.133–149 (pp. 63–69 Karst). Eusebius names Manetho's work, the title of which Schoene (in H. Petermann's translation) gives as *Egyptiaca monumenta*, in the heading to the quotation. The same title is used in Eusebius' summary of Greek and Oriental sources (Schoene I.263; p. 125 Karst). The fragments of this work appear in F. Jacoby, FGrH III C 609 (F 3) under the title Αἰγυπτιακά, which is the title given it by the earliest witness, Josephus (*Contra Apionem* I, 74 and 91).

created in this polemic, and thus he excerpted the list of Egyptian kings from an epitome of Manetho's *Egyptian History*.<sup>36</sup>

Eusebius, however, knew more of Manetho's works than the *Egyptian History*. In his introduction to Egyptian theology at the beginning of *PE* II, Eusebius refers to Manetho's *Sacred Book* and his "other works" for further information (*PE* II.praef.5).<sup>37</sup> No other author records the title *Sacred Book*, and it is even possible that Eusebius is giving a different title to Manetho's *Egyptian History*, which did, on Eusebius' own testimony in the *Chronographia*, treat gods, demi-gods, and shades, as well as mortal kings.<sup>38</sup> Yet, Eusebius apparently knew of multiple works by Manetho, and he may have possessed, in addition to an epitomized version of the *Egyptian History*, a work called the *Sacred Book*.<sup>39</sup>

One more of the "other works" known to Eusebius may be an epitome of physical doctrines. At *PE* III.2.6 Eusebius summarizes what names the Egyptians give to various planets and elements (moon, sun, earth, air, etc.), while Diogenes Laertius (I.10) attributes similar information to an Ἐπιτομή τῶν φυσικῶν (*Epitome of Physical Doctrines*) by Manetho. This evidence is rather slight, so there remains only a possibility that Eusebius possessed Manetho's *Epitome of Physical Doctrines*. Indeed, Eusebius could just as well have drawn his information in this passage from the *Sacred Book* or the epitomized *Egyptian History*.

*Philo of Byblos* Philo of Byblos flourished in the late first century AD, surviving long enough to write a work on the reign of Hadrian, in addition to a number of other works.<sup>40</sup> Eusebius preserves sub-

<sup>36</sup> Africanus' use of Manetho has been transmitted by Syncellus; see FGrH III C 609, F 2. On the epitome of Manetho, see R. Laqueur, "Manethon," *RE* XIV (1930), cols. 1080–1089. Eusebius could also have compared his epitome of Manetho to what he found in Africanus' *Chronographiae*.

<sup>37</sup> *PE* II.praef.5: πᾶσαν μὲν οὖν τὴν Αἰγυπτιακὴν ἱστορίαν . . . ἰδίως τε τὰ περὶ τῆς κατ' αὐτοὺς θεολογίας Μανεθῶς ὁ Αἰγύπτιος ἔν τε ἧ ἔγραψεν ἱερὰ βίβλα καὶ ἐν ἐτέροις αὐτοῦ συγράμμασιν. ("The Egyptian Manetho therefore loosely translated the whole of Egyptian history into Greek, especially what concerns their theology, in the *Sacred Book* he wrote and in his other works.")

<sup>38</sup> F. Jacoby, FGrH III C 609, recognizes this possibility by assigning this *testimonium* to the *Sacred Book* but cross-listing it under the *Aegyptiaca*.

<sup>39</sup> F. Jacoby, FGrH III C 609, seems to recognize that some of the fragments that are not assigned to any specific work (and perhaps some of the fragments that are assigned to specific works) actually come from the *Sacred Book*. This may be true, for example, especially in the case of the passages in Plutarch's *De Iside et Osiride*: see J. G. Griffiths, ed., *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* (Cambridge, 1970), p. 80.

<sup>40</sup> For the date of Philo of Byblos, see *Suidas* III.560 Adler and the discussion of

stantial fragments of two of these works, the ἡ Φοινικικὴ ἱστορία (*Historia Phoenicia*) and the Περὶ Ἰουδαίων (*De Iudaeis*), both of which Eusebius quotes in the first book of the *PE*.

The *Hist. Phoen.* is, according to the testimony of Porphyry (as reported by Eusebius), a translation of the Phoenician history of Sanchuniathon, whom Porphyry dates to the time of, or before, the Trojan War and the life of Semiramis.<sup>41</sup> Philo composed this history in nine books.<sup>42</sup> Eusebius, however, quotes only from the preface to the first book (*PE* I.9.26ff.) and from the first book (*PE* I.10.1ff.) of the work. Although it cannot be proved, it seems likely that Eusebius possessed the entire work. Some scholars, however, have maintained that Eusebius drew his quotations of the *Hist. Phoen.* from the fourth book of Porphyry's attack on Christians, traditionally known as *Adversus Christianos*, which Eusebius quotes at *PE* I.9.21 as an introduction to the extracts of the *Hist. Phoen.*, and not directly from Philo.<sup>43</sup> While no comparison can be made of Eusebius' quotations of Philo and Porphyry's in the now lost *Adv. Chr.*, it should be emphasized that Eusebius wished to exploit Philo's history precisely because it was a source esteemed by Porphyry. Eusebius could best exploit the work by using it independently, and perhaps the discrepancy between the number of books Eusebius attributes to Philo's history (nine books) and the number Porphyry knew (eight books) is a subtle indication of Eusebius' firsthand acquaintance with the *Hist. Phoen.* A further note may be added: the passage devoted to "the Phoenician Elements"

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A. I. Baumgarten, *The Phoenician History of Philo of Byblos: a Commentary*, EPRO 89 (Leiden, 1981), pp. 32–35. F. Jacoby, FGrH III.C.2.790, has collected most of the *testimonia* and *fragmenta* of Philo's works, but see V. Palmieri, ed., *Herennius Philo, de diversis verborum significationibus* (Naples, 1988), pp. 25–48, for a more complete catalogue of Philo's works (with *testimonia* on pp. 111–120).

<sup>41</sup> *PE* I.9.21 = Porphyry, *Adv. Chr.*, Fr. 41 Harnack. This "translation" may in reality have been more of an "adaptation" by Philo; see J. Sirinelli and E. des Places, SC #206 (1974), pp. 319–320; A. I. Baumgarten, *Commentary*, pp. 42–52 and 262–267. Cf. R. A. Oden, "Philo of Byblos and Hellenistic Historiography," *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 110 (1978), pp. 115–126.

<sup>42</sup> Eusebius states the number of books as nine at *PE* I.9.24. Porphyry, *De abstinentia*, II.56 = *PE* IV.16.6, however, gives the number as eight books. Cf. A. I. Baumgarten, *Commentary*, pp. 66–67; V. Palmieri, ed., *Herennius Philo*, p. 26, n. 4.

<sup>43</sup> E. H. Gifford, pp. 42 and 55 of text, p. 36 of trans., attributes all of the fragments of Philo in *PE* I to Porphyry. Cf. A. I. Baumgarten, *Commentary*, pp. 90–91, who notes that C. J. Bunsen in his *Egypt's Place in Universal History*, C. H. Cottrell, trans. (London, 1848–1867), V.799, note 3, holds views similar to Gifford's. Baumgarten himself (p. 261) concludes that Eusebius "probably knew [Philo's] work independently" and did not draw his quotations from Porphyry.

reproduced by Eusebius at *PE* I.10.46–53 is generally agreed to have been a section of the *Hist. Phoen.* and not a separate treatise by Philo.<sup>44</sup> The library of Caesarea thus included a copy of Philo's *Historia Phoenicia*, probably in the full nine books.

At *PE* I.10.43 and 44 Eusebius quotes from Philo's *De Iudaeis*. The re-appearance of the text of *PE* I.10.44 at IV.16.11 under the attribution of the *Hist. Phoen.*, however, has prompted speculation that the *De Iudaeis*, like the "Phoenician Elements," was a section of the larger *Hist. Phoen.* But, Eusebius refers to the *De Iudaeis* as an independent work, as does Origen in a brief reference.<sup>45</sup> So, either Eusebius copied the incorrect title at IV.16.11, perhaps misled into attributing the passage to the *Hist. Phoen.* because he drew it from the first book of his *PE*, or Eusebius copied the correct title at both I.10.44 and IV.16.11, and Philo himself borrowed the passage from the one or the other of his works.<sup>46</sup> Finally, as in the case of the extracts from the *Hist. Phoen.*, the attempt to assign the extracts from the *De Iudaeis* to Porphyry must be deemed a failure.<sup>47</sup> Eusebius possessed a copy of the *De Iudaeis* and drew his quotations of it directly from the work and not from any intermediary. The reference to this work made by Origen (above and in note), furthermore, may again suggest that Origen, who knew Philo's work at Caesarea when he composed the *Contra Celsum*, brought the *De Iudaeis*—and perhaps also the *Historia Phoenicia*—to Caesarea.

<sup>44</sup> Eusebius introduces the quotation at *PE* I.10.45: ὁ δ' αὐτὸς πάλιν περὶ τῶν Φοινίκων στοιχείων ἐκ τῶν Σαγχουνιάθωνος μεταβάλλων θέα ὁποῖα φησι . . . ("Consider what the same man says about the Phoenician elements, when he translates from the work of Sanchuniathon . . ."). See J. Sirinelli and E. des Places, *SC* #206 (1974), p. 320; A. I. Baumgarten, *Commentary*, pp. 252–254; V. Palmieri, ed., *Herennius Philo*, pp. 28–32.

<sup>45</sup> *PE* I.10.42: ὁ δ' αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἰουδαίων συγγράμματι . . . γράφει; Origen, *Contra Celsum*, I.15: Ἰουδαίων βιβλίον.

<sup>46</sup> For the first alternative, see J. Sirinelli and E. des Places, *SC* #206 (1974), pp. 318–320. For the second alternative, see A. I. Baumgarten, *Commentary*, pp. 249–250 (following C. Clemen, *Die Phönikische Religion nach Philon von Byblos*, *Mitt. der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft* 42, 3 [1939], pp. 2–3), who conjectures that Philo originally wrote the passage for the *Hist. Phoen.* and then later copied it into the *De Iudaeis*.

<sup>47</sup> See especially P. Nautin, "Trois autres fragments du livre de Porphyre contre les Chrétiens," *Revue biblique* 57 (1950), pp. 409–416. Nautin's arguments are analyzed and refuted by T. D. Barnes, "Porphyry *Against the Christians*: Date and the Attribution of Fragments," *JTS* 24 (1973), p. 426, and J. Sirinelli and E. des Places, *SC* #206 (1974), pp. 315–320.



*Herodotus, Thucydides, and Cassius Dio* None of these authors is directly cited by Eusebius. Yet, some evidence exists to link texts of Herodotus, Thucydides, and Cassius Dio to the library of Caesarea, and this evidence ought to be evaluated.

In the case of Thucydides, R. M. Grant has suggested that Eusebius composed the preface to *HE V* in conscious opposition to Thucydides' conception of history as primarily military and political.<sup>48</sup> When pressed by his audience at Lyon, however, Grant admitted that there was no evidence that Eusebius had actually read a text of Thucydides. Instead, Grant emphasized the possibility that Eusebius knew selected passages of Thucydides, perhaps from earlier training in rhetoric.<sup>49</sup> Pericles' Funeral Oration, to which Grant compares *HE V*.praef.3–4, was presumably among such passages learned in the rhetorical schools. But any parallel between the preface to *HE V* and Pericles' Funeral Oration cannot be taken too far, since Eusebius' language is in fact quite generic: other historians, Eusebius claims, write of victories in wars, trophies over enemies, the prowess of generals, the bravery of hoplites stained by blood and slaughter for the sake of children, country, and possessions.<sup>50</sup> Eusebius' differentiation of himself from military and political historians seems to be general, without reference to any specific text, even if Eusebius knew Thucydides to be the preeminent example of such military-political historians.

Nevertheless, Grant's observation that Eusebius could have encountered Thucydides in his early education is worth consideration.

<sup>48</sup> R. M. Grant, "Eusebius and the Martyrs of Gaul," *Les martyrs de Lyon* (177), Colloque Internationaux du CNRS 575 (Paris, 1978), pp. 133–136. In *Eusebius as Church Historian* (Oxford, 1980), p. 117, Grant makes this suggestion more obliquely.

<sup>49</sup> Grant refers to Hermogenes, *De inventione* II.4 (discussion of war and peace) and the second of Menander's treatises (372–374 Spengel, on praise of a king's military success), both of which mention Thucydides. Add Menander's treatment of the *epitaphios*, in which Thucydides is named (418 Spengel), as well as the section on *epitaphios* in Pseudo-Dionysius' treatise on epideictic speeches, in which Thucydides is named (pp. 373–375 in the translation of D. A. Russel and N. G. Wilson, *Menander Rhetor* [Oxford, 1981]).

<sup>50</sup> *HE V*.praef.3: ἄλλοι μὲν οὖν ἱστορικὰς ποιοῦμενοι διηγῆσεις, πάντως ἂν παρέδωκαν τῇ γραφῇ πολέμων νίκας καὶ τρόπαια κατ' ἐχθρῶν στρατηγῶν τε ἀριστείας καὶ ὀπλιτῶν ἀνδραγαθίας, αἵματι καὶ μυρίοις φόνοις παιδῶν καὶ πατρίδος καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἔνεκεν περιουσίας μιανθέντων. ("Other writers, indeed, of historical narratives would have transmitted in writing, to the exclusion of all else, victories won in war and conquests over enemies, the prowess of generals and brave deeds of warriors defiled with blood of myriads whom they slew for the sake of children and fatherland and other possessions" [trans. Oulton].)



Eusebius did likely profit from some training in rhetoric, and both Herodotus and Thucydides were almost canonical authors in rhetorical education.<sup>51</sup> One expects that Eusebius had read at least portions of the histories of Herodotus and Thucydides, though he may admittedly have done so only early in his life and he may never have returned to them.<sup>52</sup> Whether a copy of Thucydides' history could be found in the library at Caesarea, however, still remains an open question. Origen's *Contra Celsum* does not help in this respect, either, since Origen's single use of Thucydides in this work seems to come at second hand.<sup>53</sup>

Unfortunately, Origen's references to Herodotus in the *Contra Celsum* also provide no secure evidence of direct use (and thus possession) of Herodotus' history. The most eligible candidate for Origen's firsthand use of Herodotus at Caesarea occurs at *CC* III.26. In this chapter Origen quotes Herodotus IV.14–15 in order to challenge Celsus' interpretation of the story of Aristeeas of Proconnesus. But, though scholars have argued that Origen must have taken his quotation from Herodotus firsthand, it is difficult to escape the impression that Origen knows that Celsus "seems to have drawn" (ἔοικε δ' εἰληφέναι) the story of Aristeeas from Pindar and Herodotus because Celsus actually named these two authors as his sources and then quoted from them as evidence (or, at least, he quoted from Herodotus;

<sup>51</sup> See R. Nicolai, *La storiografia nell'educazione antica*, Biblioteca di materiali e discussioni per l'analisi dei testi classici 10 (Pisa, 1992), especially pp. 250–339, on a possible canon of historians among rhetoricians and grammarians. Perhaps Dionysius of Alexandria's knowledge of Thucydides stems from an education in rhetoric: Dionysius quotes from Thucydides' description of the plague (Thucydides, II.64.1) in one of his Festal Letters (at *HE* VII.22.6). Earlier Christian apologists seem to be familiar at least with Herodotus: see, for example, Theophilus, *Ad Autolyicum* III.5 and 26; and Athenagoras, *Legatio* 17.2; 26.5; 28.

<sup>52</sup> T. D. Barnes, "Panegyric, History and Hagiography in Eusebius' *Life of Constantine*," *The Making of Orthodoxy*, R. Williams, ed. (Cambridge, 1989), p. 109, may thus go too far when he denies that Eusebius was even familiar with such historians as Herodotus and Thucydides.

<sup>53</sup> Origen, *CC* VIII.21, briefly quoting Thucydides I.70.8. P. Koetschau, *Origenes Werke*, I. xxviii, points to Origen's vague introduction of the passage as evidence that Origen did not use Thucydides directly. M. Borret in *SC* #150 (Paris, 1969) follows Koetschau and records some sentiments similar to Thucydides' (including Plutarch, *Moralia* 477c; Epictetus, *Enchiridion* 3.5.10; Philo, *De sacrif. Abel et Cain* 111 and *De spec. leg.* 2.46; Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis* 7.35.6 and 49.3; as well as Origen's own *Hom. in Num.* 23.3; *De oratione* 12.2; *Hom. in Gen.* 10.3).

possibly, Origen does not quote any passage of Pindar because Celsus only *named* Pindar).<sup>54</sup> Origen's other uses of Herodotus seem more clearly to come at second hand: *CC* II.9 is an oracle (Herodotus I.47) that is also adduced by other writers and could well have come from an intermediary; *CC* V.27 makes use of stock examples from the philosophical debate about the relativity of moral codes; and *CC* VIII.6 is a reference to Herodotus VII.136 that does not necessarily demand recourse to a text of Herodotus.<sup>55</sup> Nevertheless, as was noted above, Herodotus was often studied in school, and Origen's uses of Herodotus in the *Contra Celsum* lead to no definitive conclusions, so it is possible that a copy of Herodotus' history could be found in the library of Caesarea.

Eusebius' knowledge of Cassius Dio may, with caution, be conjectured from a brief passage in the *HE*. Eusebius cites unnamed historians at *HE* III.20.8 as his sources for the report that, upon Nerva's accession, Domitian's honors were cancelled and the Senate recalled exiles and restored property to them. Xiphilinus' epitome of Cassius Dio records that images of Domitian and arches in his honor were destroyed and that Nerva (not, as in Eusebius, the Senate) released those on trial for treason, recalled exiles (68.1), and restored property to those who had lost it under Domitian (68.2). The parallel is not precise, and it is possible that another author could have

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<sup>54</sup> P. Koetschau, *Origenes Werke*, I. xxviii, expresses the opinion that Origen used Herodotus directly. J. D. P. Bolton, *Aristeas of Proconnesus* (Oxford, 1962), pp. 127–130, explores the possibility that, from what is known of the legend of Aristeas, Celsus referred to neither Herodotus nor Pindar, so that Origen must have known the references to Aristeas in Herodotus and Pindar directly. But little is known for certain about the sources of the Aristeas-legend and Celsus' full text is missing, and Bolton eventually admits the possibility that Celsus himself appealed to Herodotus and Pindar (perhaps to *Pythian* 9.63ff.). E. Bammel, "Die Zitate," *Origeniana Quarta* (Innsbruck, 1987), p. 3, believes that Celsus must have cited Herodotus.

<sup>55</sup> Eusebius, for example, cites a passage of Oenomaus at *PE* V.34.1 for the same oracle as Origen quotes at *CC* II.9 (though the texts are slightly different; the reappearance of the oracle in Eusebius' *Theophany* II.69 seems, as far as can be seen, to be more like that of Origen). See also Plutarch, *Moralia* 512e for the oracle, this time in the third person. H. Chadwick, "Stoa," *JTS* (1947), p. 35, explains how *CC* V.27 uses material common to an old philosophical debate. At *CC* VIII.6 Origen observes that Spartan ambassadors refused to worship the Persian king, and even more so would Christians refuse to worship a man in place of God. P. Koetschau, *Origenes Werke*, I. xxviii, supposes that Origen used Herodotus directly, but it is possible that Origen called this reference to mind from another source, perhaps an apologetic one.

supplied Eusebius with this information (Phlegon, for example, or Cassius Longinus), but the possibility that Eusebius knew Dio deserves consideration.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> The possibility that Eusebius knew Cassius Dio was earlier raised in my “Seven Unidentified Sources,” *Nova Doctrina Vetusque* (New York, 1999), pp. 83–84. C. M. Mazzucchi, “Alcune vicende della tradizione di Cassio Dione in epoca bizantina,” *Aevum* 53 (1979), pp. 94–114, suggests that a manuscript of Dio, Vaticanus graecus 1288, was produced in the late fifth or early sixth century in the library at Caesarea, but the evidence of this is not strong, and the codex can only be said with confidence to have come from Syria-Palestine in general. It is unclear on what evidence H. Inglebert bases his claim that Eusebius used Cassius Dio as a source for Roman history in the *Chronicon: Les Romains face à l’histoire de Rome* (Paris, 1996), p. 158, note 32.

## CHAPTER SIX

### JEWISH LITERATURE

*Aristeas* The *Epistula ad Philocratem* recounts how Ptolemy Philadelphus authorized a Greek translation of the Hebrew Scriptures, the Septuagint. Although its author, Aristeas, portrays himself as a pagan Greek, his knowledge of the Ptolemaic court and his admiration for Judaism indicate that Aristeas was a Jew, most likely from Alexandria.<sup>1</sup> Unless Aristobulus (at *PE* XIII.12.2) and Philo (*De vita Moysis* 2.26–40) are referring directly to Aristeas' work, Josephus is the first writer to show an acquaintance with the *Epistula* through his paraphrase of the work (*Ant.*, XII.12–118), and consequently Aristeas must be dated between Ptolemy Philadelphus (285–246 BC) and Josephus (fl. AD 80). But modern scholars ordinarily place Aristeas at the beginning or in the middle of the second century BC.<sup>2</sup>

Eusebius quotes directly from Aristeas at *PE* VIII.2–5 and 9 and IX.38. It is clear that Eusebius used Aristeas firsthand and that the *Epistula* was in the library at Caesarea. In fact, the manuscript tradition of the *Epistula* seems to descend from an exemplar in the library at Caesarea.<sup>3</sup>

*Aristobulus* Eusebius identifies Aristobulus as a Jewish Peripatetic philosopher who flourished under Ptolemy VI Philometor (180–145 BC), to whom he addressed exegetical commentaries on the Torah.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> A. Pelletier, *La Lettre d'Aristée à Philocrate*, Thèse complémentaire, Université de Paris (Paris, 1962), p. 56. For Aristeas' claim to be a pagan, see *Ep. ad Phil.*, 16. In general, see the entry under Pseudo-Aristeas in E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 BC–AD 135)*, new English version revised and edited by G. Vermes, F. Millar, and M. Goodman (Edinburgh, 1986), III.1, pp. 677–687.

<sup>2</sup> A. Pelletier, *Lettre*, pp. 57–58, dates Aristeas to the beginning of the second century BC. E. Schürer, *HJP*, III.1, pp. 679–684, extends the possible date to the middle of the century.

<sup>3</sup> K. Mras, *Die PE*, I.421, refers to P. Wendland, *Aristeae ad Philocratem Epistula cum ceteris de origine versionis LXX interpretum testimoniis* (Leipzig, 1900), p. vii; also, A. Pelletier, *Lettre*, p. 9. For a comparison of Eusebius' quotations with the manuscript tradition of Aristeas, see Pelletier, *Lettre*, pp. 22–41.

<sup>4</sup> *Chronicon*, Olymp. 151 (176 BC) (p. 139 Helm): *Aristobulus natione Iudaeus peripateticus*

With the added suggestion that Aristobulus lived in Alexandria, this evidence, though disputed in the past, may be accepted as true.<sup>5</sup> Aristobulus' exegesis of Mosaic law seems to have comprised more than one book.<sup>6</sup>

Eusebius variously calls this work "exegetical commentaries on Moses," *explanationum in Moysen commentarios* (*Chronicon*, 139 Helm = T 8 Holladay); "interpretation of the Sacred Law," τὴν τῶν ἱερῶν νόμων . . . ἐρμηνείαν (*PE* VII.13.7 = T 10 Holladay); "books addressed to King Ptolemy," ἐκ τῶν Ἀριστοβούλου Βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίῳ προσπεφωνημένων (*PE* XIII.12 title = T 14 Holladay); "exegetical books on Mosaic Law," βίβλους ἐξηγητικὰς τοῦ Μουσέως νόμου (*HE* VII.32.16 = T 7 Holladay).<sup>7</sup> One fragment of Aristobulus' work is preserved by Eusebius in a quotation of Anatolius' *Περὶ πάσχα* (*HE* VII.32.14–19), but Eusebius quotes directly the remaining extant fragments in *PE* VII, VIII, and XIII. In his *Stromateis* and *Protrepticus* Clement of Alexandria provides quotations of the same passages of Aristobulus as Eusebius, but Eusebius' quotations are much longer, and he could therefore not have drawn his quotations from Clement.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, Clement's quotations seem to be more paraphrases of Aristobulus than Eusebius' direct quotations.<sup>9</sup> The library at Caesarea likely con-

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*philosophus agnoscitur. Qui ad Philometorem Ptolemaeum explanationum in Moysen commentarios scripsit.* Cf. also *PE* VIII.9.38, in which Eusebius identifies Aristobulus with the Aristobulus named at 2 Macc. 1:10.

<sup>5</sup> C. R. Holladay, *Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors*, vol. III, "Aristobulus," (Atlanta, 1995), pp. 49–75, thoroughly reviews the arguments over the authenticity of the fragments of Aristobulus; his conclusions are followed here.

<sup>6</sup> The main evidence for this conjecture comes from Clement, *Stromateis*, 1.22.150.1 (= T 3 Holladay), who refers to the "first book" of Aristobulus; also *Stromateis*, 5.14.97.7 (= T 4 Holladay), with reference to βιβλία ἱκανά. See further Holladay, *FHJA*, III.74 and note 155 (pp. 93–94).

<sup>7</sup> For all of the evidence of the title of Aristobulus' work, see C. R. Holladay, *FHJA*, III.74 and note 151 (pp. 92–93).

<sup>8</sup> Nevertheless, Eusebius does once acknowledge that he quotes Aristobulus through Clement (*PE* IX.6.6–8), but Eusebius also quotes this passage directly at *PE* XIII.12.1. With regard to this last passage, J. Coman, "Utilisation des Stromates de Clément d'Alexandrie par Eusèbe de Césarée dans la Préparation Évangélique," *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, F. Paschke, ed. (Berlin, 1981), pp. 132–133, proposes that Eusebius drew the extract of Aristobulus at *PE* XIII.12, as well as the extract of Clement's *Stromateis* at *PE* XIII.13, from a florilegium. This is an unnecessary hypothesis, since Eusebius seems to have possessed both Aristobulus' letter and Clement's *Stromateis*. For a collection of all of the parallel passages, see C. R. Holladay, *FHJA*, III.

<sup>9</sup> C. R. Holladay, *FHJA*, III.45. Cf. J. Coman in *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, pp. 123–124.

tained the two or more books of Aristobulus' *Explanationum in Moysen commentarios*.<sup>10</sup>

One additional problem that has exercised scholars deserves note here. Aristobulus quotes an Orphic poem that occurs in two different short versions in Clement, *Stromateis*, 5.14.123, and Ps-Justin, *De Monarchia*, 2, and in a long form in Eusebius, *PE* XIII.12. Various explanations can be given to account for the different recensions of this poem in the text of Aristobulus, but it seems most reasonable to suggest that Aristobulus originally quoted one version of the poem, probably one of the shorter recensions, and that eventually this original version was expanded; Eusebius' text of Aristobulus incorporated this expanded version of the Orphic poem.<sup>11</sup>

Lastly, Origen once refers to "allegories of the law" by such authors as Philo and Aristobulus.<sup>12</sup> Because Origen criticizes Celsus for not knowing the content of these works, one would expect that Origen himself was familiar with their content. As other scholars have pointed out, the only other authors to cite Aristobulus are Alexandrians, and one is inevitably led to think that Origen was responsible for bringing Aristobulus' work from Alexandria to Caesarea.<sup>13</sup>

*Josephus* Eusebius quotes from every work<sup>14</sup> of Flavius Josephus (fl. AD 80), the Jewish priest who served in the Jewish War but who eventually settled in Rome as a Roman citizen. Thus, extracts from the first six of the seven books of the *Bellum Iudaicum* can be found primarily in the *HE*,<sup>15</sup> while quotations from Books I, II, IV, VII,

<sup>10</sup> C. R. Holladay, *FHJA*, III.47, does, however, caution that Eusebius could have used an epitome of Aristobulus rather than the entire work.

<sup>11</sup> C. R. Holladay, *FHJA*, III.69–70 and 219–220, surveys the arguments over this problem; the solution he suggests is followed here. It is unclear when the poem was expanded, whether between the times of Clement and Eusebius or at another time. For further discussion, see Holladay, *FHJA*, IV.

<sup>12</sup> Origen, *Contra Celsum*, IV.51: τὰς τοῦ νόμου ἀλληγορίας.

<sup>13</sup> The Alexandrians are Clement of Alexandria and Anatolius of Laodicea (in his Paschal Canon at *HE* VII.32.14ff.). See D. T. Runia, "Caesarea Maritima," *Caesarea Maritima: a Retrospective*, p. 494, citing N. Walter, *Der Thorausleger Aristobulos* (Berlin, 1964), pp. 7–9.

<sup>14</sup> H. Schreckenberg, *Die Flavius Josephus-Tradition in Antike und Mittelalter*, Arbeiten zur Literatur und Geschichte des hellenistischen Judentums 5 (Leiden, 1972), pp. 79–84, provides a catalogue of all of the references to Josephus' works in Eusebius. See also M. E. Hardwick, *Josephus as an Historical Source in Patristic Literature through Eusebius*, Brown Judaic Studies 128 (Atlanta, 1989), pp. 69–102.

<sup>15</sup> According to Schreckenberg's catalogue, Eusebius refers to *Bell. Iud.* III only in the *Chronicon* (p. 185 Helm).

VIII, IX, XI, XIII, XIV, XVII, XVIII, XIX, and XX of the *Antiquitates Iudaicae* appear in the *PE*, *HE*, *Chronicon*, *DE*, and *Onomasticon*.<sup>16</sup> Eusebius once quotes a passage from Josephus' *Vita* (*HE* III.10.9–11), a work that was apparently an appendix to the *Antiquitates*.<sup>17</sup> In the *PE*, *Chronicon*, and *HE* Eusebius also quotes from Josephus' apologetic work in two books, the *Contra Apionem*.<sup>18</sup> It is evident that Eusebius had access to the complete works of Josephus.<sup>19</sup>

Origen emerges again as the possible source for this Caesarean copy of Josephus. The single passage in Origen's extant works that bears verbal similarity to one of Josephus' passages appears at *Commentarii in Lamentationes*, 109 (with *Bell. Iud.* VI.299). Although Origen composed this commentary in Alexandria (*HE* VI.24), and so its evidence of direct borrowing from Josephus does not testify to the presence of the *Bell. Iud.* in Caesarea, it is nevertheless plausible that Origen brought the work with him from Alexandria to Caesarea.<sup>20</sup> According to Schreckenberg's catalogue, in a variety of works Origen made use of not only the *Bell. Iud.* but also the *Antiquitates*; one may

<sup>16</sup> According to Schreckenberg's catalogue, Eusebius refers to *Ant. Iud.* VII only in the *Chronicon* (p. 4 Helm).

<sup>17</sup> *HE* III.10.8: πρὸς τούτοις εὐλογον καταλέξει καὶ ἅς ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τῆς Ἀρχαιολογίας τοῦ τέλους φωνὰς παρατέθειται. ("In addition to these things, it is right to tell of the words he places at the end of his *Antiquities*.") Cf. H. Lawlor and J. E. L. Oulton, II.84.

<sup>18</sup> *HE* III.9.4: καὶ ἕτερα δ' αὐτοῦ φέρεται σπουδῆς ἄξια δύο, τὰ Περὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίων ἀρχαιότητος, ἐν οἷς καὶ ἀντιρρήσεις πρὸς Ἀπίωνα τὸν γραμματικόν. . . . ("And there are extant of his two other books which are worthy of study, those On the Antiquity of the Jews; in which also he has made reply to Apion the grammarian" [trans. Oulton].) This same title is given to the work before quotations in the *PE* (VIII.7.21 and IX.42.1) and a very similar title is given in the *Chronographia* (Schoene I.113; p. 52 Karst: ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς Ἰουδαίων ἀρχαιότητος), an indication that the title given as ἀρχαιολογίας in the chapter heading to *PE* IX.40 is simply a mistake.

<sup>19</sup> Nevertheless, Eusebius may occasionally have drawn quotations of Josephus from secondary sources, as he seems to have done, for example, in the section on Hebrew history in the *Chronographia*, when he drew some of Josephus' information from Julius Africanus: see H. Gelzer, *Sextus Julius Africanus und die byzantinische Chronographie* (Leipzig, 1898, reprinted New York, 1967), I.247–255; and A. A. Mosshammer, *Chronicle*, p. 141, although it is an exaggeration to say that Eusebius acknowledges using Josephus through Africanus at Schoene I.71 (p. 34 Karst) and Schoene I.129 (p. 61 Karst). See also H. Schreckenberg, *Flavius Josephus-Tradition*, p. 85. M. E. Hardwick, *Josephus*, pp. 108–109, is unsure what of Josephus Eusebius used firsthand and what at second hand.

<sup>20</sup> That Origen and Eusebius call the *Bell. Iud.* by different names does not necessarily demonstrate that they used different texts of the work. Origen, *In Psalmos*, 73.5–6: ἡ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἄλωσις; *In Lam.*, 105: τὰ περὶ ἀλώσεως; *In Lam.*, 109: τὰ ἀλώσεως. Eusebius, *HE* II.6.4: ἐν δευτέρῳ τοῦ Ἰουδαικοῦ πολέμου.

add the *Contra Apionem*, to which Origen refers twice in the *Contra Celsum* (I.16 and IV.11), which was written at Caesarea.<sup>21</sup> Thus, if Origen could have brought a copy of the *Bell. Iud.* to Caesarea, he could likewise have done the same with Josephus' other works, the *Antiquitates* (presumably with the *Vita* appended) and the *Contra Apionem*.<sup>22</sup>

If it is accepted that Eusebius used the same text of Josephus as Origen, then two passages in the *HE* ought to be examined, for they introduce a final problem, the state of this text of Josephus that Eusebius used at Caesarea. Already in 1887 Benedict Niese wondered whether Eusebius' text of Josephus was interpolated,<sup>23</sup> and it is possible that some corruptions existed even in Origen's time.

At *HE* II.23.20 Eusebius reproduces a quotation of Josephus in which Josephus explains that the fall of Jerusalem was the direct result of the Jews' execution of James, the brother of Jesus. This quotation, however, does not appear in the extant text of Josephus (it is absent from the discussion of James' death in *Ant.* XX.200, where it would be expected). Nor does Josephus ever state that James' martyrdom caused the fall of Jerusalem. Curiously, Origen, *Contra Celsum*, I.47 (and cf. II.13; also *In Matt.* X.17), attributes the very same explanation of the fall of Jerusalem to Josephus, though he adds that the true cause of Jerusalem's destruction was the crucifixion of Christ.

Scholars disagree on how James' death became connected with the destruction of Jerusalem. Some believe that Origen, in an attempt to correct Josephus' explanation of the fall of Jerusalem, amplified Josephus' treatment of the martyrdom of James.<sup>24</sup> Others vindicate

<sup>21</sup> H. Schreckenberg, *Flavius Josephus-Tradition*, pp. 73–74. M. E. Hardwick, *Josephus*, p. 107, accepts that Origen had direct knowledge of the *Bell. Iud.*, *Antiquitates*, and *Contra Apionem*, although he cautions that some of Origen's material may have come from intermediaries.

<sup>22</sup> Where Origen obtained his copies of Josephus' works is also unclear. W. Mizugaki, "Origen and Josephus," *Josephus, Judaism, and Christianity*, L. H. Feldman and G. Hata, edd. (Detroit, 1987), p. 327, makes the unsubstantiated suggestion that Origen acquired them in Rome during the pontificate of Zephyrinus (ca. 215). But surely Origen did not need to travel to Rome to find the works of Josephus: other writers of the East made use of Josephus (for Theophilus of Antioch, Clement of Alexandria, and Julius Africanus, see H. Schreckenberg, *Flavius Josephus-Tradition*, pp. 70–71), and it is difficult to believe that a copy could not be found in Alexandria.

<sup>23</sup> B. Niese, ed., *Flavii Iosephi Opera*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1887), pp. xxx–xxxi. Niese does not consider whether the text of Josephus used by Origen was already interpolated.

<sup>24</sup> For example, Z. Baras, "The *Testimonium Flavianum* and the Martyrdom of James," *Josephus, Judaism, and Christianity* (Detroit, 1987), pp. 338–348, analyzes the



Origen by conjecturing either that Origen used an interpolated text of Josephus or that Origen relied on an intermediary.<sup>25</sup> Still others cannot decide.<sup>26</sup> The problem is complicated by the fact that Eusebius inserted Origen's interpretation almost verbatim into his *HE* as a quotation. It is possible that Eusebius simply converted Origen's words in indirect speech at *Contra Celsum* I.47 into an ostensibly direct quotation of Josephus.<sup>27</sup> The difficulty in this view, however, is that Eusebius used Josephus extensively in this second book of the *HE* and, indeed, seems to have had his *Bell. Iud.* and *Ant.* at hand. In addition to Scripture, the other written sources Eusebius used in this book of the *HE* were from Clement of Alexandria, Hegesippus, Philo, Tertullian, Justin Martyr, Gaius, and Dionysius of Corinth; he does not seem to have needed to turn to Origen's *Contra Celsum*. A similar objection may be lodged against the idea that Eusebius and Origen used a common third source, since Eusebius, at least, seems to have had a text of Josephus at hand. It may instead be possible that Eusebius' text of Josephus' *Ant.* contained interpolations, specifically a gloss of what Origen had written in the *Contra Celsum*.<sup>28</sup> In this case, either the gloss had entered the text of Josephus before Origen used it, or the gloss entered the text afterward (but before Eusebius), as a result of what Origen had written.

The possibility of an interpolated text of Josephus also emerges in the *Testimonium Flavianum* (*HE* I.11.7–8; *DE* III.5.105–106; *Theophania*, V.44 = 250,10–20 Gressmann). Eusebius' quotation of Josephus, *Ant.*

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development of Origen's interpretation of the martyrdom of James and concludes that Origen distorted Josephus' text.

<sup>25</sup> R. M. Grant, *Eusebius as Church Historian* (Oxford, 1980), p. 104, thinks that Origen used a Christianized text of Josephus, as does J. Ulrich, *Euseb von Caesarea und die Juden*, PTS 49 (Berlin, 1999), p. 101 and note 271. Lawlor and Oulton, II.75, suggest that Origen and Eusebius used a common source, possibly a collection of extracts.

<sup>26</sup> H. Schreckenberg, *Flavius Josephus-Tradition*, p. 75, concludes that Origen either did not read *Ant.* XX.200, or obtained his interpretation from an intermediary, or added the interpretation himself. M. E. Hardwick, *Josephus*, p. 60, suggests that either Origen added the interpretation or Origen's text of Josephus contained a gloss.

<sup>27</sup> See H. Chadwick, *Origen, Contra Celsum* (Cambridge, 1953/1965), p. 43, n. 2, for this suggestion, although Chadwick also acknowledges the possibility that Origen's text of Josephus had already suffered an interpolation.

<sup>28</sup> Eusebius' use of the word "cause" at *HE* II.23.19 can also be explained in this way, since Origen uses it at *CC* I.47, too. Neither this word nor Eusebius' reference to "intelligent Jews" need necessarily be connected to Origen's words at *In Matt.* X.17, as R. M. Grant, *Eusebius as Church Historian*, pp. 104–105, implies.

XVIII.63–64, in the three passages listed above includes a statement about Jesus, that “this man was the Christ,” ὁ Χριστὸς οὗτος ἦν. Because Origen, *Contra Celsum*, I.47, and *In Matt.*, X.17, contradicts Eusebius’ later evidence by asserting that Josephus never acknowledges Jesus as Christ, the majority of scholars have doubted the authenticity of Eusebius’ quotation.<sup>29</sup> Furthermore, the passage occurs in all of the surviving manuscripts of Josephus, yet among Christians it is quoted first by Eusebius and then not again by any Church Father until Jerome, who attests a slightly different reading.<sup>30</sup> Most scholars agree that the *Testimonium* is partly interpolated: elements of the text, most notably the statement that Jesus was the Christ, are not authentic, but the body of the passage rests on Josephan material.<sup>31</sup> When the interpolations were made is open to question. If Eusebius made use of Origen’s copy of the works of Josephus but Origen did not know such a passage as the *Testimonium*, one can conclude either that the text of Josephus was altered (Christianized) after Origen but before Eusebius,<sup>32</sup> or that Eusebius himself interpolated the text in his quotations,<sup>33</sup> or that Eusebius copied a sound Josephan text accurately, but his own writings suffered interpolations from later scribes and readers.<sup>34</sup> The problem of the *Testimonium Flavianum* may be insolvable, but it does give further indication that the text of Josephus at Caesarea may have been corrupt.

<sup>29</sup> For a review of the evidence and the scholarly opinions, see L. H. Feldman, “Flavius Josephus Revisited: the Man, His Writings, and His Significance,” *ANRW* II.21.2 (1984), pp. 822–835. Cf. P. Winter in E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 BC–AD 135)*, new English version revised and edited by G. Vermes and F. Millar (Edinburgh, 1973), I.428–441.

<sup>30</sup> Jerome, *De vir. ill.* XIII.14: *Jesus credebatur esse Christus*. Versions different from Eusebius’ occur, however, as late as the tenth century (Agapius’ Arabic version, for which see S. Pines, *An Arabic Version of the Testimonium Flavianum and its Implications* [Jerusalem, 1971]).

<sup>31</sup> L. H. Feldman, *ANRW* (1984), p. 822. Perhaps Josephus’ version was ὁ λεγόμενος Χριστός. See Feldman, *ANRW*, p. 829; P. Winter, *HJP*, I.434–435.

<sup>32</sup> D. S. Wallace-Hadrill, “Eusebius of Caesarea and the *Testimonium Flavianum* (Josephus, *Antiquities*, XVIII.63f.),” *JEH* 25 (1974), p. 359; M. E. Hardwick, *Josephus*, pp. 83–84. J. Ulrich, *Euseb von Caesarea und die Juden*, p. 101 and note 271, believes that the text of Josephus had already been altered by the time of Eusebius, but he does not discuss the evidence in Origen.

<sup>33</sup> L. H. Feldman, *ANRW*, p. 835. Cf. Z. Baras in *Josephus, Judaism, and Christianity*, pp. 338–348, who studies what he calls Eusebius’ “historiosophical” reasons for interpolating Josephus.

<sup>34</sup> D. S. Wallace-Hadrill, *JEH*, pp. 355–356 and 361–362, who calls attention to the differences between Eusebius’ three versions of the *Testimonium*.

*Old Testament Writings* The work of Origen, Pamphilus, and Eusebius on the Hebrew Scriptures indicates that the library at Caesarea contained the texts of the Septuagint, texts that were, to varying degrees, also available in other translations (by Symmachus, Aquila, Theodotion, and others). Eusebius reports the list of canonical Hebrew Scriptures drawn up by Origen in his exegesis of the first Psalm (*HE* VI.25.2): Genesis; Exodus; Leviticus; Numbers; Deuteronomy; Jesus the Son of Nave [Joshua]; Judges, together with Ruth; 1 and 2 Kings, called Samuel; 3 and 4 Kings; 1 and 2 Chronicles; 1 and 2 Esdras together in one book called Ezra; Psalms; Proverbs; Ecclesiastes; Song of Songs; Isaiah; Jeremiah with Lamentations and the Letter; Daniel; Ezekiel; Job; Esther. The last work in the list is τὰ Μακκαβαϊκά, probably 1 Maccabees, though it is evident that Eusebius also knew the other Maccabean books, 2 Maccabees, 3 Maccabees, and 4 Maccabees.<sup>35</sup> Other books either composed in Greek or translated into Greek must also have been available at Caesarea: the minor prophets (Hosea, Amos, Micah, Joel, Obadiah, Jonah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zachariah, and Malachi), on whom Origen wrote commentaries; Judith; Tobit; Wisdom; Sirach; and Baruch.<sup>36</sup>

Some pseudepigraphic and apocryphal works known to Origen may also have been available at Caesarea even in Eusebius' day. For example, Origen refers to a *Book of Enoch*, probably the *Ethiopic Book of Enoch* (1 Enoch), though it is of course possible that Origen knew still other books of Enoch, like 2 Enoch, the *Slavonic Enoch*.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>35</sup> On 1 Maccabees, see E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 BC–AD 135)*, new English version revised and edited by G. Vermes, F. Millar, and M. Goodman (Edinburgh, 1986), III.1, pp. 180–185. On 2 Maccabees, see *PE* VIII.9.38 and references in Origen cited by Schürer, HJP, III.1, p. 534. On 3 Maccabees, see *Chronicon* p. 134b Helm. On 4 Maccabees, see *HE* III.10.6, in which Eusebius notes that the work called *On the Supremacy of Reason*, Περὶ αὐτοκράτορος λογισμοῦ, is commonly attributed to Josephus.

<sup>36</sup> For Origen's commentaries on the minor prophets, see the section on Origen in Chapter VII. On Judith, see Schürer, HJP, III.1, pp. 216–222, especially p. 220 for references in Origen. On Tobit, see Schürer, HJP, III.1, pp. 222–232, especially p. 227 for references in Origen. For Wisdom, see Schürer, HJP, III.1, pp. 568–579, especially pp. 574–575 for references in Origen. On Sirach, see Schürer, HJP, III.1, pp. 198–212, especially p. 208 for references in Origen. On Baruch, see Schürer, HJP, III.2, pp. 733–743, especially p. 741 for references in Origen.

<sup>37</sup> For example, Origen, *Hom. in Num.* 28.2; *Comm. in Johan.* 6.42; cf. *Contra Celsum* V.52–55. On 1 Enoch, see Schürer, HJP, III.1, pp. 250–268, especially p. 262 for references in Origen. On 2 Enoch, see Schürer, HJP, III.2, pp. 746–750.

Origen also refers to a *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*,<sup>38</sup> a *Prayer of Joseph*,<sup>39</sup> and a *Book of Jannes and Mambres*.<sup>40</sup> He also seems to have possessed an apocryphal book on Abraham (the *Apocalypse of Abraham* or the *Inquisitio Abrahae*?),<sup>41</sup> an apocryphal source on Isaiah (the *Martyrdom of Isaiah*?),<sup>42</sup> and an apocryphal work on Elijah (the *Apocalypse of Elijah*?).<sup>43</sup> Harnack assumes that Origen knew 4 Esdras.<sup>44</sup>

In a work written at Alexandria (*De princip.* 3.2.1) Origen refers to an *Ascension of Moses* (*Adscensio Mosis*), perhaps to be identified with the *Assumption of Moses* and perhaps a work brought to Caesarea. Origen's reference at *Hom. in lib. Iesu Nave* 2.1 to a certain non-canonical book that described Moses after death may be to this same *Assumption of Moses*.<sup>45</sup> Likewise, at *De princip.* 2.3.6 Origen refers to a book of Baruch, perhaps the *Greek Apocalypse of Baruch* (3 Baruch), for information on the seven heavens.<sup>46</sup> This work, too, Origen may have brought to Caesarea. One cannot but suspect that the library at Caesarea included various other pseudepigraphic and apocryphal Jewish works.

<sup>38</sup> Origen, *Hom. in lib. Iesu Nave* [*Jos.*] 15.6. It is possible that Jerome's reference to this work at *Tractatus de Psalmo XV* derives from Origen. On the *Testament*, see Schürer, HJP, III.2, pp. 767–781.

<sup>39</sup> Origen's reference comes in the third book of his *Comm. in Gen.*, quoted by Eusebius at *PE* VI.11.64; cf also a reference Origen made in Alexandria, *Comm. in Johan.* 2.31.25. On the *Prayer*, see Schürer, HJP, III.2, pp. 798–799.

<sup>40</sup> Origen, *Comm. in Matth.* 23.37 and 27.9. On the *Book of Jannes and Mambres*, see Schürer, HJP, III.2, pp. 781–783.

<sup>41</sup> Origen, *Hom. in Lucam* 35.3. In the discussion of the *Apocalypse of Abraham* in Schürer, HJP, III.1, pp. 288–292, it is suggested that Origen knew an *Inquisitio Abrahae*, which was also later known to Nicetas in the fourth or fifth century. J. T. Milik, “4 Q Visions de Amram et une citation d'Origène,” *Revue biblique* 79 (1972), pp. 77–97, however, argues that Origen is referring to an apocryphal *Testament of Amram* from Qumran.

<sup>42</sup> Origen, *Ep. ad Africanum* 9, speaks of an apocryphal book on Isaiah; cf. *Comm. in Matth.* 13.57; *Hom. in Isaiaem* 1.5. On the *Martyrdom of Isaiah*, see Schürer, HJP, III.1, pp. 335–341.

<sup>43</sup> Origen, *Comm. in Matth.* 27.9. On the *Apocalypse of Elijah*, see Schürer, HJP, III.2, pp. 799–803.

<sup>44</sup> A. von Harnack, *Der kirchengeschichtliche Ertrag der exegetischen Arbeiten des Origenes zum Hexateuch und Richterbuch*, TU 42.3 (Leipzig, 1918), p. 19, note 2.

<sup>45</sup> On the *Assumption of Moses*, see Schürer, HJP, III.1, pp. 278–288, especially p. 286 for Origen's references. A. von Harnack, *Ertrag*, p. 17, cautions that Origen may be referring to a work other than the *Assumption of Moses*; he points to another possible work in a reference made by Gelasius of Cyzicus, *HE* II.17.17, to Λόγων μυστικῶν Μωσέως.

<sup>46</sup> On 3 Baruch, see Schürer, HJP, III.2, pp. 789–793.

*Philo of Alexandria* The birth of the Jewish Biblical exegete Philo of Alexandria<sup>47</sup> is customarily put in ca. 20–10 BC, since he implies that he was already an old man at the time he joined (or led) the famous embassy to Gaius Caligula in AD 39/40.<sup>48</sup> Eusebius provides a useful, but somewhat problematic, catalogue of the works of Philo at *HE* II.18. Eusebius' language in two places demonstrates that the catalogue is a listing of the works available to Eusebius at Caesarea. At 18.5, in the middle of the catalogue, as Eusebius turns from the listing of Philo's works on Genesis to the works on Exodus, Eusebius observes: "these are the books on Genesis that have come down to us; but, of his books on Exodus we know . . ." (καὶ ταῦτα μὲν τὰ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐλθόντα τῶν εἰς τὴν Γένεσιν, εἰς δὲ τὴν Ἑξοδὸν ἔγνωμεν αὐτοῦ). Having completed this listing of works on Exodus, Eusebius turns at 18.6 to the works, each of which is one book, noting: "in addition to all these, there are also extant his works in single books" (πρὸς τούτοις ἅπασιν καὶ μονόβιβλα αὐτοῦ φέρεται). It should not be surprising that this catalogue represents how many of Philo's works were at the library of Caesarea, since it is now widely agreed that the Greek manuscript tradition of Philo's works largely derives from exemplars at Caesarea.<sup>49</sup> A review of the entire catalogue will best introduce which works of Philo were in Eusebius' possession.

<sup>47</sup> Philo is variously identified in ancient and modern works, but Eusebius ordinarily refers to him as Ἑβραῖος. D. T. Runia, "Philonian Nomenclature," *Philo and the Church Fathers: a Collection of Papers*, Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae 32 (Leiden, 1995), pp. 25–53, discusses the evidence for Philo's names, although he gives too little attention (see pp. 40–42) to Eusebius' own understanding of the contrasting terms *Ioudaios* and *Hebraios*. According to Eusebius, the Hebrews, from the Patriarchs to Moses, practiced an unconstrained religion, whereas the Jews live under the Law (cf. *PE* VII.6); the religion of the Hebrews is essentially that of Christianity (cf. *HE* I.4), and Philo stands in this same tradition. See further J. Sirinelli, *Les vues historiques d'Eusèbe de Césarée durant la période prénicéenne* (Dakar, 1961), pp. 139–163; J. Ulrich, *Euseb von Caesarea und die Juden*, PTS 49 (Berlin, 1999), pp. 57–68; 79–88; and, on Philo, 88–100.

<sup>48</sup> For a summary of the evidence regarding Philo's life, see J. Morris, "The Jewish Philosopher Philo," in E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 BC–AD 135)*, new English version revised by G. Vermes, F. Millar, and M. Goodman (Edinburgh, 1987), III.814–816. At *Legat.* 1.1 Philo speaks of the ambassadors, including himself, as οἱ γέροντες. Whether Philo really was an "old man," however, is open to question, since ancient authors used this term rhetorically. Josephus, *Ant.* 18.259, reports that Philo was the leader of this embassy.

<sup>49</sup> D. T. Runia, *Philo in Early Christian Literature: a Survey* (Assen/Minneapolis, 1993), pp. 16–31. The majority of Philo's works extant in Greek are named in Eusebius' catalogue of Philo's writings, and one manuscript containing Philo's *De officio mundi* (Cod. Vind. theol. gr. 29) even contains a subscription by one of Eusebius' suc-

The first work Eusebius names (*HE* II.18.1) is an examination of Genesis, the νόμων ιερῶν ἀλληγορίας (*Legum allegoriae*). Eusebius does not report how many volumes were available to him, but three books are extant under this title.<sup>50</sup> A number of other extant works that have individual titles and that sequentially treat passages of Genesis must also belong to the general plan of the *Legum allegoriae*.<sup>51</sup> Later in the catalogue Eusebius records the titles of all of these works but four: *De Cherubim*, *De sacrificiis*, *Quod deterius potiori insidiari soleat*, and *De posteritate Caini*. Two of these works, the *Quod deterius* and *De posteritate*, however, can be linked to Eusebius and the library at Caesarea. Eusebius mistakenly names the *Quod deterius* rather than the *De confusione linguarum* as the source of three brief quotations from Philo on the Second Cause (Logos) at *PE* XI.15. This misattribution, once made, was surely less noticeable because Eusebius actually possessed a copy of the *Quod deterius*.<sup>52</sup> The *De posteritate* appears in a list of contents in a manuscript (Cod. Vind. theol. gr. 29) whose subscription by Euzoius, bishop of Caesarea (ca. 376–379), undoubtedly places the work in the library at Caesarea.<sup>53</sup> It must be assumed that Eusebius omitted the names of the *Quod deterius* and *De posteritate* even though he possessed copies of the works, perhaps because he considered them to have been subsumed under the more comprehensive title *Legum allegoriae*. It is likely that the *De Cherubim* and *De sacrificiis* were similarly not named because Eusebius judged them to be part of the *Legum allegoriae*.<sup>54</sup>

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cessors in the episcopacy of Caesarea. See also D. T. Runia, "Caesarea Maritima and the Survival of Hellenistic-Jewish Literature," *Caesarea Maritima: a Retrospective after Two Millennia*, A. Raban and K. G. Holm, ed., DMOA 21 (Leiden, 1996), pp. 482–484, for an assessment of Jerome's list of Philo's writings, a list very largely derivative of Eusebius' catalogue.

<sup>50</sup> J. Morris, HJP, p. 832, notes that the division into three books has no manuscript authority and may in fact be false. She suggests that there were originally two books. Morris also explains that the extant *Legum allegoriae* lacks treatments of Gen. 3:1b–8a and 3:20–23, which may have occupied additional books.

<sup>51</sup> Bibliography on the classification of Philo's works appears in J. Morris, HJP, p. 826, note 42; discussion of the structure of the *Legum allegoriae* is on pp. 830–840.

<sup>52</sup> G. Schroeder, SC #215 (Paris, 1975), pp. 62–64, also argues that Eusebius' interpretation of the name Enos is dependent upon *Quod deterius*, 138–140, (with *De Abrahamo*, 7–16).

<sup>53</sup> The manuscript itself contains only part of the *De officio mundi*, but the table of contents lists, in addition to the *De officio*, the *Quaestiones ad Genesim* I–VI, *Quaestiones ad Exodum* II and V (I is scratched out), *De posteritate*, *De decalogo*, and *De specialibus legibus* III–IV. The cruciform subscription runs: Εὐζοῖος ἐπίσκοπος ἐν σωματίοις ἀνευέσσωτο. This subscription is discussed below *infra*.

<sup>54</sup> E. Lucchesi, *L'Usage de Philon dans l'oeuvre exégétique de Saint Ambroise*, Arbeiten

Eusebius next (*HE* II.18.1) names two works, τῶν ἐν Γενέσει καὶ τῶν ἐν Ἑξαγωγῇ ζητημάτων καὶ λύσεων (*Quaestiones et solutiones in Genesim* = QG and *Quaestiones et solutiones in Exodum* = QE). Although Eusebius does not tell the number of books of QG in his possession, Cod. Vind. theol. gr. 29 lists six books, all of which were presumably available to Eusebius. At *PE* VII.13.1–2 Eusebius quotes ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου . . . Φίλωνος ζητημάτων καὶ λύσεων, a passage known only through Eusebius and attributed to QG II.62.<sup>55</sup> When Eusebius repeats the title of QE at *HE* II.18.5, he adds that he possesses five books of the work. Because the list of contents of Cod. Vind. theol. gr. 29 records the transmission only of QE II and V, QE I having been scratched off the list, some scholars believe that only QE II and V were by this time in good enough condition to be copied.<sup>56</sup> Eusebius adds further at *HE* II.18.5 a work τὸ περὶ τῆς σκηνῆς (*On the Tabernacle*) that seems to represent the extant QE II, which can be identified with Philo's QE V but which Eusebius apparently knew as a separate work.<sup>57</sup>

At *HE* II.18.2 Eusebius begins to record the works on individual problems in Genesis. He first lists τὰ Περὶ γεωργίας δύο, two books *On Agriculture*. These two books must be the extant *De agricultura* and *De plantatione*, both of which Eusebius quotes. Eusebius cites a short passage of the *De agricultura* at *PE* VII.13.3 under the title Περὶ

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zur Literatur und Geschichte des hellenistischen Judentums 9 (Leiden, 1977), pp. 122–126, even argues, in part because Eusebius does not include in his list in the *HE* the *De officio mundi*, *De Cherubim*, *De sacrificiis*, *Quod deterius*, and *De posteritate*, that the *Legum allegoriae* originally comprised only the extant three books of the *Legum allegoriae* and the five works named above, and not any of the other individual works like *De gigantibus*, *Quod deus sit immutabilis*, et al. (But on the misattribution of the *De officio* to the *Legum allegoriae*, see below and J. Morris, HJP, pp. 832 and 844–845; D. T. Runia, *Philo of Alexandria, On the Creation of the Cosmos according to Moses*, Philo of Alexandria Commentary Series 1 (Leiden, 2001), pp. 1–8.

<sup>55</sup> G. Schroeder, SC #215 (Paris, 1975), pp. 230–232, refers to R. Marcus's Loeb version and the attribution of QG II.59, but F. Petit, ed., *Quaestiones in Genesim et in Exodum fragmenta graeca* (Paris, 1978), p. 116, assigns the text to QG II.62. It is unclear why Eusebius records this fragment as having come "from the first book," when it seems to come from QG II. For further discussion of this problem, see J. R. Royse, "The Original Structure of Philo's *Quaestiones*," *Studia Philonica* 4 (1976–1977), p. 41 and note 8 (on pp. 66–67).

<sup>56</sup> So J. Morris, HJP, p. 828; D. T. Runia, *Philo in Early Christian Lit.*, pp. 21–22. These two books of QE (II and V) may be identical with the extant two books (QE I and II).

<sup>57</sup> J. R. Royse, *Studia Philonica* (1976–77), pp. 54–60. According to Royse, Eusebius knew five books of QE (Philo's original QE I–IV and VI) as well as the separate work *On the Tabernacle* (Philo's QE V).



γεωργίας προτέρῳ, and a passage of the *De plantatione* immediately follows (*PE* VII.13.4–6) with the introduction ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ, referring back to the *Περὶ γεωργίας*. (A second passage of the *De plantatione* is quoted at *PE* VII.18.1–2, but without a title.)

Further at *HE* II.18.2 Eusebius lists τὰ *Περὶ μέθης τοσαῦτα*, two books *De ebrietate*, only one of which is extant. There follow ὁ *Περὶ ὦν νήψας ὁ νοῦς εὐχεται καὶ καταρᾶται* (*De sobrietate*) and *Περὶ συγχύσεως τῶν διαλέκτων* (*De confusione linguarum*), this last of which Eusebius quotes at *PE* XI.15 under the mistaken title of *Quod deterius*.<sup>58</sup>

The catalogue next records ὁ *Περὶ φυγῆς καὶ εὐρέσεως*, the *De fuga et inventione*, and ὁ *Περὶ τῆς πρὸς τὰ παιδεύματα συνόδου*, the *De congressu eruditionis gratia*.<sup>59</sup> Eusebius continues with *Περὶ τοῦ τίς ὁ τῶν θείων ἐστὶ κληρονόμος ἢ περὶ τῆς εἰς τὰ ἴσα καὶ ἐναντία τομῆς*, the *Quis rerum divinarum heres sit*.<sup>60</sup> The final work listed at *HE* II.18.2 is τὸ *Περὶ τῶν τριῶν ἀρετῶν ἃς σὺν ἄλλαις ἀνέγραψεν Μωσῆς*, the extant *De virtutibus*.<sup>61</sup>

At *HE* II.18.3 Eusebius adds (πρὸς τούτοις): ὁ *Περὶ τῶν μετονομαζομένων καὶ ὦν ἕνεκα μετονομάζονται*, ἐν ᾧ φησι συντεταχέναι καὶ *Περὶ διαθηκῶν α, β*. Eusebius thus records the *De mutatione nominum* and another work *On Covenants*, which Eusebius seems not to have known directly but rather only because Philo states in the *De mutat.* that he composed the other work.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>58</sup> J. Morris, HJP, p. 837, reports that Cohn believed that the *De sobrietate* and *De confusione linguarum* originally formed one work. Morris adds that this judgment finds support in the fact that the *Sacra Parallela* once quotes the *Conf.* under a title very close to *Sobr.* Eusebius' listing of the two works seems to affirm Cohn's judgment, since Eusebius omits an article between the two titles, whereas he generally provides articles to indicate the beginnings of other titles in this section: *τὰ Περὶ γεωργίας δύο καὶ τὰ Περὶ μέθης τοσαῦτα . . . οἷος ὁ Περὶ ὦν νήψας ὁ νοῦς εὐχεται καὶ καταρᾶται καὶ Περὶ συγχύσεως τῶν διαλέκτων καὶ ὁ Περὶ . . . καὶ ὁ Περὶ . . . Περὶ τε . . . καὶ ἔτι τὸ Περὶ . . .*

<sup>59</sup> G. Schroeder, SC #215 (Paris, 1975), p. 190, note 1, connects Eusebius' description of Isaac's continence at *PE* VII.8.25 to *De congressu*, 175.

<sup>60</sup> The Syriac translation of the *HE* gives Eusebius' ἢ as καὶ. J. Morris, HJP, p. 838, note 95, similarly maintains that the true title of the work contains the reading καὶ.

<sup>61</sup> Rufinus translates *de tribus virtutibus*. J. Morris, HJP, pp. 850–853, categorizes the *De virtutibus* as an appendix to *De specialibus legibus* and thus as part of the exposition of rather than commentary on the Law. For a recent discussion of the title of this work, see D. T. Runia, "Underneath Cohn and Colson: the Text of Philo's *De virtutibus*," *Philo and the Church Fathers* (Leiden, 1995), pp. 96–100.

<sup>62</sup> D. T. Runia, *Philo in Early Christian Lit.*, p. 19, note 75, observes that Eusebius' notice of *On Covenants* testifies to Eusebius' own knowledge of the text of *De mutat.* Note also that G. Favreille, SC #292 (1982), p. 85, connects Eusebius' etymology of the name "Isaac" as "laughter" at *PE* XI.6.29 with Philo, *De mutat.* 157. (Eusebius does not offer this etymology in his treatment of Isaac at *PE* VII.8.25.)



At *HE* II.18.4 Eusebius continues: ἔστιν δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ Περὶ ἀποικίας καὶ βίου σοφοῦ τοῦ κατὰ δικαιοσύνην τελειωθέντος ἢ νόμων ἀγράφων. Two titles are recorded here, the *De migratione Abrahami* (Περὶ ἀποικίας) and the *De Abrahamo*.<sup>63</sup> Eusebius next reports: καὶ ἔτι Περὶ γιγάντων ἢ Περὶ τοῦ μὴ τρέπεσθαι τὸ θεῖον. Again, two titles are given here, the *De gigantibus* and the *Quod Deus sit immutabilis*.<sup>64</sup> The catalogue continues: Περὶ τε τοῦ κατὰ Μωυσέα θεοπέμπτους εἶναι τοὺς ὀνείρους α, β, γ, δ, ε, the *De somniis* in five books, of which only two are extant.

Eusebius completes the list of works devoted to Genesis at *HE* II.18.5 and repeats the listing of *QE*, at this time adding that he possesses five books and listing as well the *On Covenants* (both of which titles have been treated above).<sup>65</sup> The catalogue continues: τό τε Περὶ τῶν δέκα λογίων καὶ τὰ Περὶ τῶν ἀναφερομένων ἐν εἵδει νόμων εἰς τὰ συντείνοντα κεφάλαια τῶν δέκα λόγων α, β, γ, δ. That is, Eusebius possessed the *De Decalogo* and the four books of *De specialibus legibus*. Eusebius quotes from the first book of the *De spec.* at *PE* XIII.18.12–16. Curiously, Eusebius next records τὸ Περὶ τῶν εἰς τὰς ἱερουργίας ζῶων καὶ τίνα τὰ τῶν θυσιῶν εἶδη, *De victimis*, as a separate work, although it is a part of the extant *De spec.* (I.162–256). The section ends with τὸ Περὶ τῶν προκειμένων ἐν τῷ νόμῳ τοῖς μὲν ἀγαθοῖς ἄθλων, τοῖς δὲ πονηροῖς ἐπιτιμίων καὶ ἄρων, the *De praemiis et poenis, de execrationibus*.

Eusebius begins to record treatises of a single book at *HE* II.18.6: πρὸς τούτοις ἅπασιν καὶ μονόβιβλα αὐτοῦ φέρεται. . . . The first of these is τὸ Περὶ προνοίας, the *De providentia*. On two occasions Eusebius quotes passages of the *De providentia*, *PE* VII.21.1–4 and *PE* VIII.14.1–72, and in the introductions to both of these extracts

<sup>63</sup> Eusebius' δικαιοσύνην is apparently a mistake for the διδασκαλίαν of the manuscript tradition. Lawlor and Oulton, II.71, conjecture that Eusebius also omitted the word Περὶ before the word βίου. Eusebius probably referred to the *De Abrahamo* when he composed *PE* VII.8 (see especially *PE* VII.8.5–12 on the derivation of the name "Enos"). G. Schroeder, *SC* #215 (Paris, 1975), pp. 186–189, also suggests a connection between *PE* VII.8.20–21 and Philo's account of the name "Hebrews" in *De migr.* 20 (and cf. *PE* XI.6.40).

<sup>64</sup> The Syriac translation of the *HE* supplies καὶ for ἢ. Supposing that Eusebius did mistakenly write "or" for "and," Lawlor and Oulton, II.71, suggest that Eusebius intended to record two separate titles. V. Nikiprowetzky, "L'Exégèse de Philon d'Alexandrie dans le *De Gigantibus* et le *Quod Deus sit Immutabilis*," *Two Treatises of Philo of Alexandria: a Commentary on De Gigantibus and Quod Deus Sit Immutabilis*, D. Winston and J. Dillon, edd. (Chico, CA, 1983), p. 5, comes to the opposite conclusion; likewise, J. Morris, *HJP*, p. 835, maintains that Eusebius' title is reliable and that the two works were originally one.

<sup>65</sup> *HE* II.18.5: καὶ ταῦτα μὲν τὰ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐλθόντα τῶν εἰς τὴν Γένεσιν, εἰς δὲ τὴν Ἑξόδον ἔγνωμεν αὐτοῦ ζητημάτων καὶ λύσεων α, β, γ, δ, ε καὶ τὸ Περὶ τῆς σκηνῆς.

Eusebius again makes clear that he knew the *De providentia* as one book.<sup>66</sup> The extant Armenian text of the *De providentia*, however, embraces two books, of which Eusebius quotes from the second, and so it seems that Eusebius did not possess the first book of *De providentia*.<sup>67</sup>

The next μονόβιβλον in the catalogue is ὁ Περὶ Ἰουδαίων αὐτῷ συγγραφεὶς λόγος. This book *De Judaeis* is, because of its similar title, sometimes identified with another work by Philo, the *Apologia pro Judaeis*, which Eusebius quotes at *PE* VIII.11.<sup>68</sup> The *Apologia pro Judaeis*, in turn, is traditionally identified with Philo's *Hypothetica*, which Eusebius quotes at *PE* VIII.6–7.<sup>69</sup> In his introduction to the first quotation of the *Hypothetica*, however, Eusebius explains that the extract comes from the first book of the work, thus implying that he knew more than one book: ἀπὸ τοῦ συγγράμματος ὧν ἐπέγραψεν Ὑποθετικῶν, ἔνθα τὸν ὑπὲρ Ἰουδαίων ὡς πρὸς κατηγοροῦς αὐτῶν, ποιούμενος λόγον. . . .<sup>70</sup> The *Hypothetica* cannot, it seems, be the same work as the μονόβιβλον *De Judaeis*.

If the *Hypothetica* is not the *De Judaeis*, is the *Hypothetica* the *Apologia*, and if not, is the *Apologia* the *De Judaeis*? The answer to the first question depends on the interpretation of the extracts and, especially, on the interpretation of the title Ὑποθετικῶν. Eusebius' introduction

<sup>66</sup> *PE* VII.20.9: ὁ Ἑβραῖος δὲ Φίλων ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῆς προνοίας; *PE* VIII.13.7: ὁ δ' αὐτὸς . . . ἐν τῷ Περὶ προνοίας.

<sup>67</sup> J. Morris, HJP, pp. 864–865.

<sup>68</sup> At *PE* VIII.10.9 Eusebius introduces his quotation as ἀπὸ τῆς Ὑπὲρ Ἰουδαίων ἀπολογίας.

<sup>69</sup> E. Schürer, *A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ*, S. Taylor and P. Christie, trans., second, revised edition (Peabody, MA, 1994), III.355–356, originally identified the *De Judaeis* with the *Apologia*, but he does not connect either of these two titles with the *Hypothetica*. In his Loeb edition, F. H. Colson, trans., *Philo*, vol. IX (Cambridge, MA, 1941), p. 407, assumes that all three titles are one work, a view that J. Morris, HJP, pp. 866–868, in revising Schürer, follows. S. Sandmel, "Philo Judaeus: an Introduction to the Man, His Writings, and His Significance," *ANRW* II.21.1 (1984), p. 6, only identifies the *Hypothetica* with the *Apologia*.

<sup>70</sup> *PE* VIII.5.11: "from the first book of the *Hypothetica* he wrote, in which he makes argument on behalf of the Jews against their accusers. . . ." Eusebius possessed the two or more books of the *Hypothetica*, that is, unless Eusebius knew that the *Hypothetica* comprised more than one book, even though he himself possessed only one, and then, when he composed his catalogue of Philo's works, Eusebius inadvertently categorized the *Hypothetica* as a μονόβιβλον. Alternatively, as G. E. Sterling observes, Eusebius could have obtained the other book(s) of the *Hypothetica* after he completed the *HE* but before he composed the *PE* ("Philo and the Logic of Apologetics, an Analysis of the *Hypothetica*," *SBLSP* 29 [1990], p. 414).

to the extracts from the *Hypothetica* describes the work as “on behalf of the Jews against their accusers,” a description that can be assimilated to the title given later, “apology on behalf of the Jews.” Yet, the extracts from the *Hypothetica* concern the Exodus and the conquest of the Promised Land, as well as some of the individual laws in the Mosaic Law [Jewish state], while the extract from the *Apologia* describes the practices of the Essenes. Various interpretations of the title Ὑποθετικῶν have been proposed in order to explain the differing content of the extracts (and to demonstrate that the *Hypothetica* could be described as an apology), but the small quantity of text militates against any secure conclusion.<sup>71</sup> If the *Apologia* is identified with the *Hypothetica*, then this work cannot be the *De Iudaeis* of the catalogue.<sup>72</sup> If the *Apologia* is not considered the same as the *Hypothetica*, then it is possible (though far from certain) that the *Apologia* and the *De Iudaeis* are the same work.<sup>73</sup> All three titles, however, ought not to be attributed to one work. Consequently, it must be emphasized that, with whichever work the *Apologia* is identified, Eusebius’ catalogue has omitted a work that was available to Eusebius at Caesarea.

The catalogue continues with ὁ Πολιτικός, the *De Iosepho*, and ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἢ περὶ τοῦ λόγον ἔχειν τὰ ἄλογα ζῶα, the *De animalibus* (*De Alexandro*). Eusebius next records ὁ Περὶ τοῦ δοῦλον εἶναι πάντα φαῦλον, ὃ ἐξῆς ἐστὶν ὁ Περὶ τοῦ πάντα σπουδαῖον ἐλεύθερον εἶναι. The second work named is the extant *Quod omnis probus liber sit*, while the first work is apparently a lost companion to it. Eusebius seems to have known the two works as separate but related documents,<sup>74</sup> and he quotes from the *Prob.* (giving the same title as in the catalogue) at *PE* VIII.12.1–19.

<sup>71</sup> Apart from the differing content, L. Troiani, “Osservazioni sopra l’apologia di Filone: gli Hypothetica,” *Athenaeum* 56 (1978), p. 308, note 11, calls attention to the difference in tone between the extracts from the two works. J. Morris, *HJP*, pp. 866–868, reviews earlier interpretations of the title Ὑποθετικῶν: “suppositions” (Viger) and “recommendations, exhortations” (Bernays). She herself, following L. Massebieau, argues that the title means “imputations,” false opinions of the Jews, which are here refuted” (p. 867). G. E. Sterling, *SBLSP* (1990), pp. 413–420, argues that the title is a technical term of Stoic logic meaning “hypothetical syllogisms.”

<sup>72</sup> This is the position of G. E. Sterling, *SBLSP* (1990).

<sup>73</sup> As was reported above, this was E. Schürer’s original position. Interestingly, Rufinus translates Περὶ Ἰουδαίων as *de Iudaeis apologeticus liber*.

<sup>74</sup> D. T. Runia, *Philo in Early Christian Lit.*, p. 20, notes the possibility that Eusebius did not possess the companion work of *Prob.* but merely reported its existence, which he knew from the *Prob.* It seems more likely, however, that, if Eusebius did not possess the work, he would have explained that Philo himself mentions it, just as Eusebius does at *HE* II.18.3 with the work *On Covenants*.

At *HE* II.18.7 Eusebius names ὁ Περὶ βίου θεωρητικοῦ ἢ ἱκετῶν, the *De vita contemplativa*, which Eusebius also explains he has used earlier in the *HE* (quoted at II.17.7–8, 9, 10–11, 13, 16–17, 19, 20). Eusebius further adds: “The Interpretations of the Hebrew Names in the Law and the Prophets is also said to be his work,” καὶ τῶν ἐν νόμῳ δὲ καὶ προφήταις Ἑβραϊκῶν ὀνομάτων αἱ ἐρμηνεῖαι τοῦ αὐτοῦ σπουδὴ εἶναι λέγονται.<sup>75</sup> By his use of the passive λέγονται, however, it is evident that Eusebius is sceptical about Philo’s authorship of this book of interpretations of Hebrew names in the Law and Prophets. Nevertheless, while the book may be consigned to Philonic *spuria*, it appears that Eusebius did possess a copy of it. Jerome, in fact, reports in the preface to his *Liber interpretationis hebraicorum nominum* that Origen knew the work and attributed it to Philo,<sup>76</sup> and it is most likely Origen’s copy of the work at Caesarea and his attribution of it to Philo to which Eusebius refers in the catalogue. Perhaps this pseudo-Philonic onomasticon was a source for some of Eusebius’ etymologies of Hebrew names in the *PE*.<sup>77</sup>

The last work named in the catalogue appears at *HE* II.18.8, the Περὶ ἀρετῶν.<sup>78</sup> Philo devoted a work ironically entitled *De virtutibus* to the emperor Gaius’ hatred of God, and its reported content calls to mind Eusebius’ earlier statement (*HE* II.5.1) that Philo composed five books on what happened to the Jews under Gaius: καὶ δὴ τὰ κατὰ Γάϊον οὗτος Ἰουδαίοις συμβάντα πέντε βιβλίους παραδίδωσι. Two works that have been otherwise omitted from the catalogue, and the only extant works of Philo that concern the affairs of the Jews under Gaius, the *In Flaccum* and *Legatio ad Gaium*, are likely to have been two of the five books of the *De virtutibus*.<sup>79</sup> These two works, in fact,

<sup>75</sup> *HE* II.18.7, trans. Oulton.

<sup>76</sup> Cf. also that Origen, *Comm. in Iohann.*, II.33, seems obliquely to refer to the work: εὐρομεν τοίνυν ἐν τῇ ἐρμηνείᾳ τῶν ὀνομάτων.

<sup>77</sup> *PE* VII.8 is particularly rich in etymologies of Hebrew names, many of which G. Schroeder, *SC* #215 (Paris, 1975), has linked to works of Philo. D. T. Runia, *Philo in Early Christian Lit.*, p. 344, has recently called for further research into Philo’s etymologies in patristic authors.

<sup>78</sup> *HE* II.18.8: οὗτος μὲν οὖν κατὰ Γάϊον ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης ἀφικόμενος, τὰ περὶ τῆς Γαίου θεοστυγίας αὐτῷ γραφέντα, ἃ μετὰ ἡθους καὶ εἰρωνείας Περὶ ἀρετῶν ἐπέγραψεν, ἐπὶ πάσης λέγεται τῆς Ῥωμαίων συγκλήτου κατὰ Κλαύδιον διελθεῖν. (“Now Philo is stated to have come to Rome in the time of Gaius, and in the time of Claudius to have read before a full meeting of the Roman Senate what he had written concerning Gaius’ hatred of God—a work which with characteristic irony he entitled *On Virtues*” [trans. Oulton].)

<sup>79</sup> The *In Flaccum* concerns the persecution of Jews by A. Avillius Flaccus, gov-

contain evidence that they were portions of a larger composition, since the *In Flaccum* begins with an acknowledgement that it was preceded by a book devoted to Sejanus' plot against the Jews, and the *Legatio ad Gaium* ends with an invocation of a palinode (presumably, the end of persecution and the return of good fortune to the Jews).<sup>80</sup>

The structure of the *De virtutibus* is made more intelligible by a reference Eusebius makes in his *Chronicon*: "Sejanus, the prefect of Tiberius who had great power under the emperor, most urgently incites him to destroy the race of Jews. Philo mentions this in the second book of his *Legatio*."<sup>81</sup> The second book of the *De virtutibus*, then, recorded the persecution of Jews at Rome instigated by Sejanus. Another detail about this second book emerges from Eusebius' description of Philo's Πρεσβεία at *HE* II.5.7, for this work reportedly also treats Pilate's persecution of the Jews in Judaea. Because the *In Flaccum* and *Legatio ad Gaium* are not concerned with persecution in Judaea, Eusebius must be describing the second book of the *De virtutibus*.<sup>82</sup> The complete *De virtutibus* therefore included, in addition to the second book described above: the *In Flaccum* (Book III); the *Legatio ad Gaium* (Book IV); and the *Palinode* (Book V). The content of the first book is unknown but was perhaps simply introductory.<sup>83</sup>

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ernor of Egypt under Caligula. The *Legatio ad Gaium* records the embassy of Philo and four other Jews to the emperor Gaius to complain about Gaius' infringement of the Jewish faith. The description Eusebius gives of this work here at *HE* II.5.1 of five books most closely resembles the contents of the *Legatio ad Gaium*.

<sup>80</sup> The *In Flaccum* begins: δευτέρως μετὰ Σηιανὸν Φλάκκος Ἀουίλλιος διαδέχεται τὴν κατὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐπιβουλὴν. The *Legatio* ends: εἴρηται μὲν οὖν κεφαλαιωδέστερον ἡ αἰτία τῆς πρὸς ἅπαν τὸ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος ἀπεχθείας Γαίου. λεκτέον δὲ καὶ τὴν παλινωδίαν.

<sup>81</sup> *Chronicon*, p. 176 Helm: *Seianus praefectus Tiberii, qui apud eum plurimum poterat, instantissime cohortatur, ut gentem Iudaeorum deleat. Philo meminit in libro legationis secundo.*

<sup>82</sup> E. M. Smallwood, *Philonis Alexandrini Legatio ad Gaium* (Leiden, 1961), p. 38, however, points out that Philo does describe the incident in which Pilate placed golden shields in Herod's palace and further suggests (cf. also pp. 300ff.) that this incident may be what Eusebius alludes to at *HE* II.5.7, in which Pilate reportedly ἱερὸν ἐπιχειρήσαντα, "made an attempt on the temple."

Another reference to a second book of the *De virtutibus* comes at *HE* II.6.3: ἐν δευτέρῳ συγγράμματι ὧν [in some MSS ᾧ] ἐπέγραψεν Περὶ ἀρετῶν. What is perplexing about this reference is that Eusebius states that this book records the persecution of Jews at Alexandria under Gaius, events that one would expect rather to be in the *In Flaccum* or *Legatio* than the second book of the *De virtutibus*, which seems to have been devoted to persecutions at Rome and Judaea. J. Morris, HJP, p. 863, observing that the Syriac translation of the *HE* omits this phrase entirely, suggests that the word δευτέρῳ is a later gloss.

<sup>83</sup> Cf. J. Morris, HJP, pp. 859–864. E. M. Smallwood presents a different reconstruction: she identifies the *Legatio ad Gaium* and *De virtutibus* as the same work, but

A remaining difficulty concerns the title of the work, since Eusebius lists it as *De virtutibus* in his catalogue (*HE* II.18.8), but elsewhere (*Chron.*, p. 176 Helm, and *HE* II.5.6 referred to above) he calls it *Legatio* (Πρεσβεία). In both cases in which Eusebius uses the title *Legatio*/Πρεσβεία, the reference is to a larger, more complete work: at *Chron.*, p. 176 Helm, Eusebius refers to the second book of the *Legatio*; at *HE* II.5.6 Eusebius describes the contents of the Πρεσβεία as the persecutions of the Jews by Sejanus in Rome and by Pilate in Judaea, as well as the subsequent persecution by Gaius (and Eusebius then furnishes a brief quotation from the *Legatio ad Gaium* at *HE* II.6.2). Eusebius thus refers to the complete work on the affairs of the Jews under the emperors Tiberius and Gaius by two general titles, the *De virtutibus* and the Πρεσβεία. He likely does so, though, out of an imprecision of usage, for he seems to know the titles of the individual works that constitute the *De virtutibus*, or at least he once refers to the *In Flaccum* as a separate work.<sup>84</sup> The correct title of the whole work, and the one Eusebius placed in his catalogue of Philo's works, is Περὶ ἁρετῶν. Eusebius merely omitted from the catalogue the number of books in the work.

A work that is omitted from the catalogue requires attention here. The *De opificio mundi*, though absent from the catalogue, is quoted at *PE* VIII.13.1–6 and *PE* XI.24.1–12. In his introduction to the first quotation of this work, Eusebius gives the title as ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου τῶν εἰς τὸν νόμον, a title that only generally connects the work to Mosaic Law, the subject of nearly all of Philo's work. Some scholars in the past have associated the *De opificio* with the *Legum allegoriae*, but scholars have more recently identified it with Philo's exposition of, rather than commentary on, the Law.<sup>85</sup> Eusebius clearly possessed a copy of the *De opificio*, and it is unclear why he failed to include it in his catalogue of Philo's works.

One other conspicuous absence from the catalogue is the *De vita Moysis* (in two books), which does appear in Rufinus' translation (as *de Moysi vita*). It is plausible that either Eusebius omitted the title

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she considers the *In Flaccum* to be a separate treatise. See *Legatio*, pp. 36–43, with discussion of still other reconstructions.

<sup>84</sup> *Chronicon*, pp. 177e–178 Helm: *Refert Philo in eo libro, qui Flaccus inscribitur, haec omnia se praesente gesta, ob quae etiam legationem ad Gaium caesarem ipse suscepit.*

<sup>85</sup> See J. Morris, *HJP*, pp. 832 and 844–845; D. T. Runia, *Philo of Alexandria, On the Creation of the Cosmos according to Moses*, Philo of Alexandria Commentary Series 1 (Leiden, 2001), pp. 1–8.



himself or Eusebius included the work in the catalogue but the name later dropped out of the manuscript tradition.<sup>86</sup> Another extant work absent from the catalogue is the *De aeternitate mundi*, but it is unclear whether Eusebius possessed this work.<sup>87</sup>

The works of Philo available to Eusebius at Caesarea are thus summarized: *Legum allegoriae* (the extant three books, as well as the *Quod deterius* and *De posteritate*, and, presumably, the *De Cherubim* and *De sacrificiis*); *Quaestiones et solutiones ad Genesim* in six books; *Quaestiones et solutiones ad Exodum* in five books; *De agricultura* and *De plantatione* (considered two books of a single work *On Agriculture*); *De ebrietate* in two books; *De sobrietate* and *De confusione linguarum* (possibly considered one work); *De fuga et inventione*; *De congressu*; *Quis heres*; *De [tribus] virtutibus*; *De mutatione*; *De migratione*; *De Abrahamo*; *De gigantibus*; *Quod Deus*; *De somniis* in five books; *On the Tabernacle* (known as a separate work from the QE, of which it was originally part); *De Decalogo*; *De specialibus legibus* in four books; *De victimis* (known as a separate work from the *De spec.*, of which it is a part); *De praemiis*; *De providentia* in only one book; *Hypothetica* in at least two books (and possibly the same as the *Apologia pro Iudaeis*); *De Iudaeis* in one book (also possibly the *Apologia pro Iudaeis*); *De Iosepho*; *De animalibus*; *Probus* and its companion; *De vita contemplativa*; a book of interpretations of Hebrew

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<sup>86</sup> D. T. Runia, *Philo in Early Christian Lit.*, p. 19, attributes the omission of the *De vita Moysis* to oversight, apparently meaning Eusebius' oversight and not a later scribe's. Runia (pp. 221–222) also notes that other scholars have seen possible uses of the *De vita Moysis* in Eusebius' VC I.12 and 38 and HE IX.9.2–8, in which Constantine is compared to Moses. These uses would thus provide further evidence that Eusebius possessed the *De vita Moysis*. See G. F. Chesnut, *The First Christian Histories: Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, and Evagrius*, Second edition, revised (Macon, GA, 1986), pp. 162–163, relying on F. Dvornik, *Early Christian and Byzantine Political Philosophy* (Washington, DC, 1966), II.644. M. J. Hollerich, "The Comparison of Moses and Constantine in Eusebius of Caesarea's *Life of Constantine*," *Studia Patristica* 19 (1989), p. 82, also follows Dvornik's view that Eusebius used Philo's *De vita Moysis* here; see also Hollerich's "Myth and History in Eusebius's *De Vita Constantini*: Vit. Const. 1.12 in Its Contemporary Setting," *HTR* 82 (4) (1989), pp. 421–445; C. Rapp, "Imperial Ideology in the Making: Eusebius of Caesarea on Constantine as 'Bishop'," *JTS* 49 (1998), pp. 685–695.

<sup>87</sup> D. T. Runia, *Philo in Early Christian Lit.*, p. 19, categorizes Eusebius' omission of this work with his omission of the *De vita Moysis* and thus attributes the omission to oversight. Because the extant Greek texts of Philo largely derive from exemplars at Caesarea, Runia's is a plausible suggestion, though, as with the *De vita Moysis*, the omission could have been Eusebius' own or a later scribal error. The works that survive in Armenian, the *On God* and *On Numbers*, as well as the *On Piety* (known through Byzantine references), were presumably unknown to Eusebius (see Runia, p. 20).

names in the Law and Prophets probably not genuinely by Philo; *De virtutibus* in five books (including *In Flaccum* and *Legatio ad Gaium*); *De opificio mundi*; likely the *De vita Moysis*; and possibly *De aeternitate mundi*.

Some observations can now be made about this catalogue and about the contents of the library of Caesarea. First, the catalogue is incomplete. The *Hypothetica*, which cannot be identified with the *De Judaeis*, and the *De opificio mundi* are missing from the list, although both were certainly available to Eusebius at Caesarea. The *De vita Moysis* and *De aeternitate mundi* are similarly missing, and it seems probable that these works were also at Caesarea. The *De Cherubim*, *De sacrificiis*, *Quod deterius*, and *De posteritate*, which are absent from the catalogue, were perhaps considered part of the *Legum allegoriae*; Eusebius possessed the latter two works and probably also the former two. Further, Eusebius does not describe in detail the works he lists, and as a result such works as the *De virtutibus* must be reconstructed from evidence that Eusebius elsewhere provides.

Second, in contrast to works that are absent from the catalogue but that Eusebius quotes in other places or other works, there are numerous works that are named in the catalogue but that are never quoted. Thus, if the catalogue were lost and one had to judge from Eusebius' quotations of (or allusions to) Philo alone, Caesarea would seem to have a small collection of Philo's works. That Eusebius quotes only once a short passage from one book of a work, therefore, is not evidence that Eusebius did not have the entire work available to him.<sup>88</sup>

Third, Eusebius names *On the Tabernacle* and *De victimis* as separate works, although each is a part of a larger extant work (QE and *De spec.*, respectively). Eusebius evidently knew divisions of Philo's works that were different from Philo's original divisions and from the divisions of the extant texts.

How, it may next be asked, was Eusebius' collection of Philo's works organized? H. J. Lawlor argues that the chapter subsections of the catalogue reflect a basic division into rolls of papyrus or roll-cases and that Eusebius simply lists the contents of each roll or roll-case as he takes it up. Lawlor's hypothetical rolls or roll-cases appear in HE II.18.1; 18.2; 18.3–4; 18.5; 18.6 to the *De animalibus*; the

<sup>88</sup> For example, the only quotation of QG (II.62) is seven lines long, at PE VII.13.1–2.



remainder of 18.6–7; and 18.8.<sup>89</sup> While Lawlor is most likely correct to conjecture that, when Eusebius composed his catalogue, he listed the contents of the roll-cases and rolls as he came upon them, there is too little evidence to decide exactly how many roll-cases and rolls of Philo's works Eusebius knew.<sup>90</sup>

Lastly, the origin of Eusebius' collection of Philo may be considered. As was noted above, scholars generally agree that the extant Greek texts of Philo largely derive from the collection at Caesarea. This collection itself, however, was most likely brought to Caesarea by Origen from the Christian community in Alexandria.<sup>91</sup> Although, in his extant corpus, Origen only once quotes directly from Philo (*In Matt.* 15.3 of *Quod deterius*) and otherwise only twice names him (*CC* IV.51 and VI.21, the latter a reference to the *De somniis*), there are other instances in which Origen relies anonymously on Philo.<sup>92</sup> One work already noted above, the pseudo-Philonic etymological book of Hebrew names in the Law and Prophets, which Eusebius records in the catalogue at *HE* II.18.7, has been linked directly to Origen by Jerome.

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<sup>89</sup> H. J. Lawlor in Lawlor and Oulton, II.69–72. Presumably, Lawlor's view was the same in his "On the Use by Eusebius of Volumes of Tracts," *Eusebiana: Essays on the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius Bishop of Caesarea* (Oxford, 1912), pp. 138–145, even though Lawlor only speaks of "volumes." D. T. Runia, "Caesarea Maritima," *Caesarea Maritima: a Retrospective*, p. 489, note 43, then, would be wrong to take Lawlor to mean codices, even though this makes Lawlor's speculation about Philo's works more sensible.

<sup>90</sup> Thus, for example, it is impossible to know whether or not the three extant books of the *Legum allegoriae* were on a separate roll from the *De Cherubim*, *De sacrificiis*, *Quod deterius*, and *De posteritate*.

<sup>91</sup> Many scholars of Philo believe that Origen copied his texts of Philo from the collection of the Alexandrian catechetical school, but there is disagreement over how early Alexandrian Christians acquired copies of Philo's works. See D. Barthélemy, "Est-ce Hoshaya Rabba qui censura le 'Commentaire Allégorique'? A partir des retouches faites aux citations bibliques, étude sur la tradition textuelle de Commentaire Allégorique de Philon," *Philon d'Alexandrie: Actes du colloque national, Lyon 11–15 Septembre 1966* (Paris, 1967), p. 60, cited with approval by Runia, *Philo in Early Christian Lit.*, p. 22; A. van den Hoek, "The 'Catechetical' School of Early Christian Alexandria and Its Philonic Heritage," *HTR* 90 (1997), pp. 59–87; G. E. Sterling, "The School of Sacred Laws: the Social Setting of Philo's Treatises," *Vigiliae Christianae* 53 (1999), pp. 160–163.

<sup>92</sup> On Origen's extensive use of Philo, see D. T. Runia, *Philo in Early Christian Lit.*, chapter nine (pp. 157–183). Runia provides a list of Origen's references to Philo on pp. 349–350, including to the *De gigantibus*, *De opificio mundi*, *De ebrietate*, *Quis heres*, *Quod Deus*, *De sobrietate*, *QG*, *De confusione*, and *Legum allegoriae*. See also *Studia Philonica Annual* 6 (1994), pp. 113–114, and Runia, "Caesarea Maritima," *Caesarea Maritima: a Retrospective*, pp. 492–493.

If Origen's copies of Philo's works were relatively fresh, they would be approximately a century old when Eusebius used them and about half as much older when, according to Cod. Vind. theol. gr. 29, Εὐζοῖος ἐπίσκοπος ἐν σωματίοις ἀνενεώσατο, Euzoius had the collection copied from papyrus to parchment codices.<sup>93</sup> In the list of contents of this manuscript, QE II and V are recorded as having been copied, although QE I is scratched out; perhaps Euzoius was unable to copy QE I (and presumably III and IV) because the papyrus rolls were too damaged, either worn by use, or harmed in some other way, or simply lost. In any case, Euzoius judged that it was necessary to transfer Philo's works from papyrus to parchment codices.

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<sup>93</sup> Cf. Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 113, that Euzoius *in membranis instaurare* (and cf. the same report regarding Euzoius and his predecessor Acacius at *Ep.* 34.1). See further the Introduction above. D. Barthélemy (1967), p. 58, [cited by Runia, p. 22, n. 89] notes that Sophronius translates Jerome's phrase with the same phrase used by Euzoius. Lawlor and Oulton, II.69, translate "vellum" for parchment.

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## CHAPTER SEVEN

### CHRISTIAN LITERATURE AND DOCUMENTS

*Abgar of Edessa and the Acts of Thaddeus* At *HE* I.12 Eusebius reviews the tradition of who was included among the seventy disciples sent out by Jesus (Luke 10:1). Within this chapter Eusebius names Thaddeus, whose story Eusebius then takes up in *HE* I.13, in which the correspondence between King Abgar of Edessa and Jesus (*HE* I.13.6–10) is followed by the account of Thaddeus' mission to Edessa (*HE* I.13.11–22). Eusebius does not provide a title for the work, but it appears to have been approximate to ἡ περὶ τὸν Θαδδαῖον ἱστορία, "The Story of Thaddeus."<sup>1</sup> Eusebius reports that the document came from the public archives of Edessa and was translated from Syriac (*HE* I.13.5).<sup>2</sup> It is, of course, unlikely that Eusebius translated the text himself, and he does not claim to have done so.<sup>3</sup> Nor does

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<sup>1</sup> *HE* I.12.3: καὶ Θαδδαῖον δὲ ἓνα τῶν αὐτῶν εἶναί φασι, περὶ οὗ καὶ ἱστορίαν ἔλθοῦσαν εἰς ἡμᾶς αὐτίκα μάλα ἐκθήσομαι. *HE* I.13.1: τῆς δὲ περὶ τὸν Θαδδαῖον ἱστορίας τοιοῦτος γέγονεν ὁ τρόπος. J. Quasten, *Patrology* (Utrecht, 1950), I.140, calls the document the *Acts of Thaddeus*. The extant Greek *Acta Thaddaei* (R. A. Lipsius and M. Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha* [Leipzig, 1891], I.273–278) probably date to the sixth or seventh century. The Syriac *Doctrina Addai* is a related version of these *Acta* that was composed probably after 400. For an English translation, see G. Howard, trans., *The Teaching of Addai*, Society of Biblical Literature Texts and Translations 16, Early Christian Literature Series 4 (Chico, CA, 1981); see further A. Desreumaux, A. Palmer, and R. Beylot, *Histoire du roi Abgar et de Jésus* (Turnhout, 1993). For a possible Greek version of the *Doctrina Addai* that antedates Eusebius, see R. Peppermueller, "Griechische Papyrusfragmente der Doctrina Addai," *Vigiliae Christianae* 25 (1971), pp. 289–301.

<sup>2</sup> *HE* I.13.5: ἔχεις καὶ τούτων ἀνάγραφτον τὴν μαρτυρίαν, ἐκ τῶν κατὰ Ἑδεσσᾶν τὸ τηνικάδε βασιλευομένην πόλιν γραμματοφυλακεῖον ληφθεῖσαν. ἐν γοῦν τοῖς αὐτοῖς δημοσίοις χάρταις, τοῖς τὰ παλαιὰ καὶ τὰ ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀβγαρον πραχθέντα περιέχουσι, καὶ ταῦτα εἰς ἔτι νῦν ἐξ ἐκείνου πεφυλαγμένα εὑρίτται, οὐδὲν δὲ οἷον καὶ αὐτῶν ἐπακοῦσαι τῶν ἐπιστολῶν, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχείων ἡμῖν ἀναληφθεῖσων καὶ τόνδε αὐτοῖς ῥήμασιν ἐκ τῆς Σύρων φωνῆς μεταβληθεῖσων τὸν τρόπον. ("You have the proof of these facts also in writing, taken from the record office at Edessa, then a city ruled by kings. Thus, in the public documents there, which contain ancient matters and those connected with Abgar, these things have been found preserved from that day until now. But there is nothing like hearing the letters themselves, taken by us from the archives and literally translated from the Syriac as follows" [trans. Oulton].)

<sup>3</sup> The point must be emphasized, since some scholars neglect it: cf., for example, H. W. Attridge and G. Hata, "Introduction," *Eusebius, Christianity, and Judaism*, H. W. Attridge and G. Hata, edd., *Studia Post-Biblica* 42 (Leiden, 1992), p. 37.

Eusebius claim to have travelled to Edessa and retrieved the document from the Edessene archive himself.<sup>4</sup> Presumably, one of Eusebius' associates translated the text, perhaps even at Edessa, where the translator found the document.<sup>5</sup> The document itself, however, is an obvious fabrication of probably the third century intended to demonstrate that Christianity reached Edessa in apostolic times, and so one may well doubt that it was actually found in Edessa's public archive.<sup>6</sup> Either Eusebius was told that the document came from the public archives, or Eusebius' copy of it simply contained an explanation to that effect.

*Agrippa Castor* Having chronicled the fate of the Jews under Hadrian (*HE* IV.2 and 6), Eusebius devotes *HE* IV.7 to the leading heretics in the second century, Saturninus, Basilides, and Carpocrates. Eusebius twice names Irenaeus as a source in this chapter,<sup>7</sup> but he also refers generally to other Christians who wrote treatises, and specifically to Agrippa Castor and his *elenchus*: "Among those which have come down to us, there is a most powerful refutation of Basilides by a writer of the greatest renown at that time, Agrippa Castor," ὃν εἰς ἡμᾶς κατήλθεν ἐν τοῖς τότε γνωριμωτάτου συγγραφέως Ἀγρίππα Κάστορος ἱκανώτατος κατὰ Βασιλείδου ἔλεγχος . . . (*HE* IV.7.6, trans. Oulton). Eusebius' language clearly indicates that he possessed a copy of Agrippa Castor's refutation of Basilides, and the succeeding summary (*HE* IV.7.7–8) of what appears to be Agrippa Castor's description of Basilides' teachings confirms this conclusion.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>4</sup> The phrase ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχείων ἡμῖν ἀναληφθεῖσων is perhaps best understood to mean that the document was taken from the archives for Eusebius' use rather than by Eusebius himself. Cf. Lawlor and Oulton, II.57.

<sup>5</sup> Lawlor and Oulton, II.57, assume that the translation was made at Edessa.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. E. Schwartz, "Zu Eusebius Kirchengeschichte," *ZNW* 4 (1903), pp. 65–66. W. Bauer, *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity* (Philadelphia, 1971), p. 11, suggests that the original Syriac document need not even have come from Edessa and dates the work to ca. 300. Bauer is generally followed by S. Brock, "Eusebius and Syriac Christianity," *Eusebius, Christianity, and Judaism* (Leiden, 1992), pp. 226–227, although Brock notes the possibility that the Syriac work could have been composed several decades before the year 300.

<sup>7</sup> *HE* IV.7.4 and 9. Eusebius is apparently referring to Irenaeus, *Adversus Haereses*, I.24 and 25.

<sup>8</sup> Agrippa Castor's information finishes the discussion of Basilides and re-introduces Eusebius' main source for this chapter, Irenaeus. Eusebius terminates his notice of Agrippa Castor at *HE* IV.7.8: καὶ ἕτερα δὲ τούτοις παραπλήσια ἀμφὶ τοῦ Βασιλείδου καταλέξας ὁ εἰρημένος οὐκ ἀγεννῶς τῆς δηλωθείσης αἰρέσεως εἰς προὔπτον

*Alexander of Jerusalem* Alexander presided over the see of Jerusalem in approximately the reign of Caracalla, first as co-adjutor of Narcissus and then alone as bishop.<sup>9</sup> Alexander established a library at Jerusalem that Eusebius claims to have used (*HE* VI.20.1).

Eusebius quotes from four letters written by Alexander.<sup>10</sup> At *HE* VI.11.3 Eusebius excerpts three lines from Alexander's letter to the Antinoites, adding that the letter is "to this day preserved among us."<sup>11</sup> At *HE* VI.11.5–6 Eusebius quotes twice from Alexander's letter to the Antiochenes, with its notice that Asclepiades replaced Serapion as bishop there.<sup>12</sup> At *HE* VI.14.8–9 Eusebius produces a short passage from a letter sent by Alexander to Origen. All three of these letters were probably available to Eusebius at the library at Jerusalem, with perhaps numerous other examples of Alexander's correspondence, and Eusebius naturally made copies of these letters for the library at Caesarea.<sup>13</sup>

The fourth letter is, however, slightly different from the other three, because the addressee is not known. At *HE* VI.19.17–18 Eusebius quotes briefly from a document written about Demetrius of Alexandria by Alexander of Jerusalem and Theoctistus of Caesarea. This letter (so it may be called) was apparently a response to Demetrius' condemnation of the Palestinian bishops' acceptance of Origen, although the letter cannot have been addressed to Demetrius himself, since Eusebius introduces it as *περὶ τοῦ Δημητρίου*. Nautin's suggestion that Pontian of Rome was the addressee is probably correct,

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ἐφόρασε τὴν πλάνην. ("And the writer of whom we have spoken has collected other similar facts about Basilides, and thus openly laid bare the error of the sad heresy in no unworthy fashion" [trans. Oulton].)

<sup>9</sup> For the chronology, cf. P. Nautin, *Lettres et écrivains chrétiens des II<sup>e</sup> et III<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Paris, 1961), pp. 112–114. On Narcissus of Jerusalem, see *HE* VI.9–11.3, for which Eusebius seems to be relying only on oral tradition. On oral tradition, cf. R. M. Grant, *Eusebius as Church Historian* (Oxford, 1980), pp. 151–152.

<sup>10</sup> For commentary, see P. Nautin, *Lettres*, pp. 105–134.

<sup>11</sup> *HE* VI.11.3: Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν ἰδίαις ἐπιστολαῖς ταῖς πρὸς Ἀντινόιτας, εἰς ἔτι νῦν παρ' ἡμῖν σφωζομέναις. . . .

<sup>12</sup> Lawlor and Oulton, II.195, think the letter was written when Alexander was still in Cappadocia, while P. Nautin, *Lettres*, pp. 115–116, argues that the letter was written from Jerusalem.

<sup>13</sup> C. H. Turner, "The Early Episcopal Lists. II," *JTS* 1 (1899–1900), p. 534, note 2, recognizes that Alexander's letter to the Antinoites was in Eusebius' possession at Caesarea, since it was "to this day preserved among us", but he seems not to have reached the general conclusion that Eusebius must have transcribed the works used in the *HE* that were obtained from Jerusalem or elsewhere, a conclusion accepted here.

since there seems to have been a Roman synod held to discuss the matter of Origen's ordination,<sup>14</sup> but it is worth noting that Alexander and Theoctistus' letter may have also circulated to Antioch and even less prominent sees.

Nautin's further suggestion<sup>15</sup> that Eusebius possessed a letter from Pontian in support of Demetrius remains speculative, even though Eusebius probably knew letters from various churches on the subject of Origen's ordination at Caesarea (cf. *HE* VI.23.4). More probably, Eusebius simply knew Demetrius' letter of protest against the actions of the Palestinian bishops, that very letter to which *HE* VI.19.17–18 was a reply. Eusebius could have found Alexander and Theoctistus' letter, like Alexander's other letters, in the library at Jerusalem, but there is no reason to believe that Theoctistus did not also deposit a copy in the library at Caesarea. For this reason, Gustafsson's scepticism about Eusebius' firsthand knowledge of Alexander's letter about Demetrius is unwarranted.<sup>16</sup> Rather, Eusebius' own later reference to the *Defense of Origen* for information about the controversy over Origen's ordination (*HE* VI.23.4) leads one to conjecture that letters concerning this controversy were also available at Caesarea.

*Ammonius* At *HE* VI.19 Eusebius adduces Porphyry as a witness to the scholarly prominence of Origen. Porphyry's statements, however, introduce some information that Eusebius believes he must correct: Porphyry errs, Eusebius explains, when he claims that Origen was Greek by education and only later Christian as well as when he claims that Ammonius, Origen's teacher, was first Christian and then later became a Greek (*HE* VI.19.9). As evidence of Ammonius' life-

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Jerome, *Ep.* 33.4–5; P. Nautin, *Lettres*, pp. 123–124.

<sup>15</sup> P. Nautin, *Lettres*, pp. 124–126.

<sup>16</sup> B. Gustafsson, "Principles," *Studia Patristica* 4 (1961), p. 433, in part on the basis of Eusebius' introductory ὅδε πῶς, suspects that the passage quoted at *HE* VI.19.17–18 comes to Eusebius at second hand, probably through Origen. Eusebius' introductory formula, however, should not be thought to cast doubt upon the authenticity of the quotation, since Eusebius uses it elsewhere for direct quotations: see *HE* VI.25.1 of Origen's *In Psalmos*; *HE* VI.25.4–6 of Origen's *In Matthaeum*; *HE* VII. 23.1–3 of Dionysius of Alexandria's *Ep. ad Hermammone*. Gustafsson also observes that the letter, though sent by two bishops, includes a verb in the first person singular. But one bishop may have been the primary author, the other bishop simply subscribing to the text of the letter. The singular may in fact be a mistake, since the first person plural is used in the last sentence of the letter.

long Christianity, Eusebius cites the existence of his treatise *Περὶ τῆς Μωσέως καὶ Ἰησοῦ συμφωνίας* (*On the Harmony of Moses and Jesus*) (*HE* VI.19.10). There is still debate among modern scholars about the identity of this Ammonius, since some believe he is the same Ammonius who taught Plotinus, while others think him a different man.<sup>17</sup> This question need not be addressed here. It suffices to note the implications of the possible identities of Ammonius. (a) If Ammonius was the teacher of both Plotinus and Origen, then he did not compose the *Harmony*, since this Ammonius, the teacher of Plotinus, left no writings.<sup>18</sup> Yet, because this Ammonius is said (by Porphyry) to have turned from Christianity to Hellenism, it is possible that the *Harmony* was a work Ammonius composed before he apostatized. On the other hand, Eusebius may simply have confused Ammonius, the teacher of Plotinus and Origen, with another man by the same name, and this man composed the *Harmony of Moses and Jesus*. Harnack even suggests that the treatise be attributed to an Ammonius, the bishop of Thmuis, who allowed Origen to preach in his church and who was, as a result, deposed by Heraclas, though there is no proof of this attribution, and Harnack is well aware of its tenuity.<sup>19</sup> (b) If two Ammonii taught in Alexandria, one instructing Plotinus and one Origen, then Origen's teacher could conceivably have written the *Harmony*.<sup>20</sup>

But however the attribution of the *Harmony* is decided, did Eusebius actually possess the work he names? J. E. Bruns suggests that Eusebius drew his own comparison of Moses and Jesus at *Demonstratio Evangelica* III.2 from the *Harmony*, but because the *Harmony* is not extant, there

<sup>17</sup> For bibliography on this question, see S. Lilla's entry on Ammonius Saccas in *EEC* I (1992), p. 32; M. Baltes, "Ammonios Sakkas," *RAC* Suppl. 3 (1979/1985), cols. 323–332; F. M. Schroeder, "Ammonius Saccas," *ANRW* II.36.1 (1987), pp. 493–526; P. F. Beatrice, "Porphyry's Judgment on Origen," *Origeniana Quinta* (Leuven, 1992), pp. 351–367; M. Edwards, "Ammonius, Teacher of Origen," *JEH* 44 (1993), pp. 169–181.

<sup>18</sup> That Ammonius, Plotinus' teacher, wrote nothing is implied by Porphyry, *Vita Plotini* 3.20–38; 20.25–45 [Longinus]. Cf. Lawlor and Oulton, II.206, following Harnack [cited below]; G. Bardy, *SC* #41 (Paris, 1955), p. 116, note 7, also following Harnack; M. Edwards, "Ammonius," *JEH* (1993), pp. 174–175; F. M. Schroeder, "Ammonius," *ANRW* (1987), p. 508.

<sup>19</sup> A. Harnack, *Die Chronologie der alchristlichen Literatur bis Eusebius* (Leipzig, 1904), II.81–82.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. M. Edwards, "Ammonius," *JEH* (1993), p. 180. Edwards suggests that Origen's teacher was Ammonius the Peripatetic, who is named by Longinus in a quotation from Porphyry's *Vita Plotini* 20.49–57.



can be no secure evidence of Eusebius' borrowing.<sup>21</sup> Bruns himself recognizes that Eusebius could have had other, probably Jewish-Christian, sources for this passage of the *DE*.<sup>22</sup> Moreover, Eusebius' words in the text of the *HE* give some reason for caution. Eusebius seems to distance himself from Ammonius' work by stating that Ammonius is "esteemed among very many" for his works, including the *Harmony* and "as many others as are found among those who love what is beautiful."<sup>23</sup> Eusebius does not clearly indicate his own possession of the *Harmony*, and because he does not, it is possible that Eusebius knew of it only at second hand.

To return to the identity of Ammonius: if Eusebius did not possess a copy of the *Harmony*, and, moreover, if Eusebius had little information about the author of the *Harmony*, then this lack of knowledge about Ammonius may lend support to the idea that Eusebius, zealous to defend Origen and to point out one of Porphyry's errors, mistook the author of the *Harmony* for Ammonius, the teacher of Origen and, in this case, also of Plotinus.

*Anatolius of Laodicea* Within the last chapter of *HE* VII Eusebius records a number of the occupants of important sees in the last quarter of the third century. Among these bishops is Anatolius, a man of great secular learning, well known at Alexandria for his knowledge of arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy—so well recognized, in fact, that the citizens of Alexandria established him in a school of Aristotelian philosophy (*HE* VII.32.6).<sup>24</sup> Anatolius became

<sup>21</sup> J. E. Bruns, "The 'Agreement of Moses and Jesus' in the 'Demonstratio Evangelica' of Eusebius," *Vigiliae Christianae* 31 (1977), pp. 117–125.

<sup>22</sup> J. E. Bruns, "Agreement," *Vigiliae Christianae* (1977), p. 123, admits the possibility of a Syriac source, for example.

<sup>23</sup> *HE* VI.19.10: . . . οἱ τάνδρος εἰς ἔτι νῦν μαρτυροῦσι πόνοι, δι' ὃν κατέλιπε συγγραμμάτων παρὰ τοῖς πλείστοις εὐδοκιμοῦντος, ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ ὁ ἐπεγεγραμμένος Περὶ τῆς Μωυσέως καὶ Ἰησοῦ συμφωνίας καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι παρὰ τοῖς φιλοκάλοις εὐρηνται. ("To this fact the man's works witness to the present day, and the widespread fame that he owes to the writings he left behind him, as, for example, that entitled On the Harmony of Moses and Jesus, and all the other works that are to be found in the possession of lovers of literature" [trans. Oulton].) Cf. Eusebius' references to Aristides' *Apologia* and to Tatian's *Diatessaron*.

<sup>24</sup> Some scholars identify this Anatolius with the Anatolius said by Eunapius, *Vit. soph.* 5.2 (458) to have been the teacher of the Neoplatonist Iamblichus. See, for example, D. J. O'Meara, *Pythagoras Revived: Mathematics and Philosophy in Late Antiquity* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 23–24; G. O'Daly, "Jamblich," *RAC* 16 (1994), col. 1244. J. M. Dillon, *Iamblichi Chalcedensis in Platonis Dialogos Commentariorum Fragmenta*, Philosophia

bishop of Laodicea in approximately 268, since he is reported to have been held by the Laodiceans while on his way to an ecclesiastical council called to deliberate on the case of Paul of Samosata (*HE* VII.32.21). This council can be dated to the year 268 because the attending bishops addressed a letter to Dionysius of Rome (*HE* VII.30.2) and Dionysius died in 268, so the letter must have been sent before the bishops in Antioch learned of Dionysius' death.<sup>25</sup> Here it ought to be stated that Eusebius' information in the *HE* should be preferred to that in the *Chronicon*, in which Eusebius writes under the year 279 that "Anatolius, bishop of Laodicea, is celebrated in much speech for his learning in the doctrines of philosophers."<sup>26</sup> Some scholars have understood this entry to refer to the time at which Anatolius became bishop at Laodicea,<sup>27</sup> but Eusebius intended his later work, the *HE*, to revise and expand the chronological frame devised in the *Chronicon* (see *HE* I.1.6), and, in any case, the entry in the *Chronicon* states not that Anatolius became bishop in 279 but that he was well known at that time.<sup>28</sup> At Laodicea, Anatolius succeeded another Alexandrian named Eusebius, who had been a deacon in Alexandria. According to the *HE* (VII.32.5), this Eusebius succeeded Socrates as bishop of Laodicea during the controversy over Paul of Samosata. Indeed, the Laodiceans made him bishop when he, like Anatolius later, passed through town on his way to

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Antiqua 23 (Leiden, 1973), pp. 7–9, and again in "Iamblichus of Chalcis (c. 240–325 AD)," *ANRW* II.36.2 (1987), pp. 866–867, made the same identification but then rejected it in *Iamblichus on the Pythagorean Way of Life: Text, Translation, and Notes* (with J. Hershbell) (Atlanta, 1991), p. 19. In the *RE*, there are articles for two separate Anatolii: E. Riess, "Anatolios (12)," *RE* I.2 (1894), col. 2073; F. Hultsch, "Anatolios (15)," *RE* I.2 (1894), cols. 2073–2074.

<sup>25</sup> Lawlor and Oulton, II.255 and 257; F. Millar, "Paul of Samosata, Zenobia, and Aurelian: the Church, Local Culture, and Political Allegiance in Third-Century Syria," *JRS* 61 (1971), p. 11.

<sup>26</sup> *Chronicon*, p. 223i Helm: *Anatolius Laodiceus episcopus philosophorum disciplinis eruditus plurimo sermone celebratur*.

<sup>27</sup> J. M. Dillon, *Iamblichi Chalcidensis*, pp. 8–9; again in "Iamblichus of Chalcis," *ANRW* II.36.2 (1987), p. 867; R. M. Grant, "Porphyry among the Early Christians," *Romanitas et Christianitas: Studia Iano Henrico Waszink, W. den Boer, et al., edd.* (Amsterdam, 1973), pp. 181–187.

<sup>28</sup> It is possible that the date of 279 is associated with Anatolius' publication of *On Pascha*. T. D. Barnes, *CE*, p. 111, for example, suggests that Eusebius provides a synchronism of various local calendars for the year 276/7 immediately after his entry on Anatolius because 276/7 was the same year in which Anatolius began his Easter cycle. R. Goulet, *Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques* (Paris, 1989), I.183, is sympathetic to this association.

an ecclesiastical council in Antioch. The date at which Eusebius of Alexandria became bishop must be ca. 264, when troubles with Paul of Samosata first emerged, and so his episcopate must have lasted about four years (ca. 264–268), approximately the same length as Eusebius of Caesarea lists it in the *Chronicon*, though at earlier dates.<sup>29</sup> Both Anatolius and Eusebius had been at Alexandria during the siege of the Broucheion (*HE* VII.32.7–11), so this siege must have occurred at some time before 264.<sup>30</sup> Anatolius, meanwhile, at some time after the siege of the Broucheion (ca. 260–264, then), migrated to Caesarea in Palestine, where he reportedly was looked on by Theotecnus, the bishop there, as his successor (*HE* VII.32.21), until, that is, 268, when he departed for Antioch and ended as bishop of Laodicea. Eusebius' general knowledge of Anatolius probably depends on oral tradition at Caesarea, recollections from when Anatolius resided there.<sup>31</sup> Eusebius' description of Anatolius' works is probably based on firsthand knowledge of what Anatolius left behind when he departed from Caesarea.<sup>32</sup>

At *HE* VII.32.13 Eusebius explains that Anatolius did not compose very many works, but Eusebius records those that have come into his possession (εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐλήλυθεν).<sup>33</sup> He names two of these works. One is the *Περὶ τοῦ πάσχα* (*On Pascha*), from which Eusebius excerpts a lengthy passage (*HE* VII.32.14–19). The second of Anatolius' works is an introduction to arithmetic in ten books (*HE* VII.32.20), but Eusebius does not quote from this work.<sup>34</sup> Yet, Eusebius also indi-

<sup>29</sup> The first ecclesiastical council concerned with Paul of Samosata must have occurred in ca. 264 because Dionysius of Alexandria seems still to have been alive: *HE* VII.27 and 38.3; see also Lawlor and Oulton, II.256–257 and 261; F. Millar, "Paul of Samosata," *JRS* 61 (1971), p. 11.

<sup>30</sup> Lawlor and Oulton, II.262, and T. D. Barnes, *CE*, p. 146, date the siege to 261/2, during the revolution of Aemilianus. C. Andresen, "'Siegreiche Kirche' im Aufstieg des Christentums: Untersuchungen zu Eusebius von Caesarea und Dionysius von Alexandrien," *ANRW* II.23.1 (1979), pp. 442–450, however, dates the siege to 271 or 272. The *Chronicon* (p. 221i Helm) lists a destruction of the Broucheion under the year 270.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. *HE* VII.32.6: λόγος ἔχει; VII.32.7: μνημονεύουσιν; VII.32.8: φασίν. R. W. Burgess, "The Dates and Editions of Eusebius' *Chronici Canones* and *Historia Ecclesiastica*," *JTS* 48 (1997), p. 500, on the other hand, thinks Eusebius had a written source.

<sup>32</sup> On the other hand, Eusebius had a friend at Laodicea, its bishop Theodotus, and it is possible that he sent Eusebius copies of whatever works Anatolius left behind at Laodicea.

<sup>33</sup> *HE* VII.32.13: οὐ μνημονεύον ἐσπουδάσθη πλείστα τῷ Ἀνατολίῳ συφφράγματα, τοσαῦτα δ' εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐλήλυθεν. . . .

<sup>34</sup> *HE* VII.32.20: καὶ ἀριθμητικὰς δὲ καταλέλοιπεν ὁ αὐτὸς ἐν ὅλοις δέκα συγ-

cates that he has other works by Anatolius in his possession, for at *HE* VII.32.20 Eusebius reports the existence of “other proofs” of Anatolius’ knowledge of “divine things.”<sup>35</sup> Eusebius makes this reference within a listing of the works directly known to him, so it is likely that the library of Caesarea contained some of Anatolius’ other works, probably religious ones, such as works of Scriptural exegesis.

*Anonymous Anti-Montanist* Providing much of Eusebius’ information on Montanism is an anonymous work quoted at *HE* V.16–17. Eusebius describes the author as one of the learned men of the time of Apollinarius of Hierapolis (the late second century) but gives no precise title to the work, referring to it merely as a “work against them [the Montanists].”<sup>36</sup> The work contained at least three books, and Eusebius quotes from it in what seems to be sequential order: from the preface (V.16.3–5: προοιμιάζεται) and Book I (V.16.6–10: ταῦτα ἐν πρώτοις ιστορήσας); from Book II (V.16.12–15: ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ; with 16.17 and 19); and from Book III (V.16.20–21: ἀπὸ τοῦ τρίτου; with 16.22; presumably also from this book is V.17.1: ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῷ συγγράμματι; with 17.2–3 and 4). Eusebius apparently follows the order

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γράμμασιν εἰσαγωγὰς. . . . It is possible that Anatolius of Laodicea also wrote the extracts found under the name of Anatolius in the *Theologoumena arithmeticae* commonly associated with the name of Iamblichus, as well as the treatise entitled *On the Decade and the Numbers within It* (Περὶ δεκάδος καὶ τῶν ἐντὸς αὐτῆς ἀριθμῶν). This latter work, which survives in a single manuscript, codex Monacensis graecus 384 (saec. XV), and was edited by J. L. Heiberg in *Annales Internationales d’Histoire, Congrès de Paris, 1900, 5e section: histoire des sciences* (Paris, 1901), pp. 27–41, with a translation on pp. 42–55, seems to be related to the extracts in the *Theologoumena arithmeticae*. Anatolius of Laodicea may also have been responsible for the fragments from an unnamed mathematical work that appear in Heron of Alexandria’s *Definitiones* 138.1–10 (also in PG 10: 231–236). Of course, since the introduction to arithmetic is lost, it is impossible to say whether it was the source of these other texts.

<sup>35</sup> *HE* VII.32.20: καταλέλοιπεν . . . καὶ ἄλλα δείγματα τῆς περὶ τὰ θεῖα σχολῆς τε αὐτοῦ καὶ πολυπειρίας.

<sup>36</sup> *HE* V.16.1: . . . ἄλλους τε σὺν αὐτῷ [Apolinarius] πλείους τῶν τηνικάδε λογίων ἀνδρῶν . . . ἐξ ὧν καὶ ἡμῖν ιστορίας πλείστη τις ὑπόθεσις καταλέλειπται. [2] ἀρχόμενος γοῦν τῆς κατ’ αὐτῶν [Montanists] γραφῆς, τῶν εἰρημένων δὴ τις πρῶτον ἐπισημαίνεται ὡς καὶ ἀγράφοις τοῖς κατ’ αὐτῶν ἐπεξέλθοι ἐλέγχους. (“and along with him [Apolinarius] many learned men of that time, who have left us the amplest supply of historical material. For instance, at the beginning of his work against them [Montanists], a certain one of the said persons indicates first of all that he had also attacked and refuted them orally” [trans. Oulton].) In his translation, Rufinus attributes the quotations to Apolinarius himself, as does the Syriac translation of the *HE*. Cf. Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 39, who implies that Rhodon is the author. W. Kühnert, “Der antimontanistische Anonymus des Eusebius,” *Theologische Zeitschrift* 5 (1949), pp. 436–446, argues that Polycrates of Ephesus is the author.

of the text, and he indicates the books from which his quotations come, both practices that may show that Eusebius possessed a copy of the Anonymous Anti-Montanist and used the work firsthand.

*Apollonius* In addition to the Anonymous Anti-Montanist, Eusebius draws much of his information on Montanism from a certain Apollonius, who authored a σύγγραμμα against the Montanists around 200.<sup>37</sup> Eusebius produces six quotations from Apollonius' anti-Montanist work (*HE* V.18.2–11) and then summarizes a variety of information from the treatise (*HE* V.18.12–14). There is no reason to doubt Eusebius' firsthand use of Apollonius' work.

*Aristides of Athens* Eusebius reports at *HE* IV.3.3 that the Athenian philosopher Aristides composed an apology addressed to the emperor Hadrian: "And Aristides too, a faithful follower of our religion, has left behind him an Apology which, like Quadratus, he dedicated to Hadrian on behalf of the faith. And his book also is to this day preserved in the hands of very many."<sup>38</sup> Nothing more was known of Aristides' *Apologia* (Eusebius does not quote from the work) until an Armenian fragment of the work was found in 1878. Later still, in 1889, the complete text in Syriac was discovered. It was subsequently shown that the apology was incorporated into the Greek text of the work ascribed to St. John Damascene, *The Life of Barlaam and Josaphat*. While Eusebius dates Aristides' work to the reign of Hadrian, the inscriptions of the Armenian and Syriac versions are inconsistent,

<sup>37</sup> *HE* V.18.1: τῆς δὲ κατὰ Φρύγας καλουμένης αἰρέσεως καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος, ἐκκλησιαστικὸς συγγραφεὺς, ἀκμαζούσης εἰς ἔτι τότε κατὰ τὴν Φρυγίαν ἔλεγχον ἐνστησάμενος, ἴδιον κατ' αὐτὸν πεποιήται σύγγραμμα. . . . ("But an ecclesiastical writer called Apollonius also undertook to refute the Phrygian heresy, when it was then still at its height in Phrygia; and he has written a special treatise against them . . ." [trans. Oulton].) The date of Apollonius' treatise is disputed. According to Eusebius, Apollonius states that he wrote forty years after Montanus began to prophesy (*HE* V.18.12), but the date of the beginning of Montanism is itself a matter of debate, being perhaps ca. 156 (Epiphanius, *Panarion*, 48.1.1–2) or ca 171 (Eusebius, *Chronicon*, p. 206d Helm).

<sup>38</sup> *HE* IV.3.3: καὶ Ἀριστείδης δέ, πιστὸς ἀνὴρ τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς ὁρμώμενος εὐσεβείας, τῷ Κοδράτῳ παραπλησίως ὑπὲρ τῆς πίστεως ἀπολογίαν ἐπιφωνήσας Ἀδριανῷ καταλέλοιπεν. σφάζεται δέ γε εἰς δεῦρο παρὰ πλείστοις καὶ ἡ τούτου γραφή. The translation is Oulton's. Cf. *Chronicon*, p. 199b Helm: "Quadratus, a disciple of the apostles, and Aristides of Athens, our philosopher, addressed to Hadrian books composed in defense of the Christian religion" (*Quadratus discipulus apostolorum et Aristides Atheniensis noster philosophus libros pro Christiana religione Hadriano dedere compositos* . . .).

and it is therefore uncertain whether the emperor addressed by Aristides was Hadrian or Antoninus Pius.<sup>39</sup>

As Eusebius states, Aristides “has left behind” an *Apologia* that “is preserved to this day among very many [*sc.* of our Christian brothers].” Eusebius evidently did not possess this apology, for he can only attest that the work survives in the hands of other people, not in his own hands. By contrast, when in the same chapter Eusebius records the existence of another apology addressed to Hadrian, that written by a man named Quadratus, Eusebius emphasizes that, while other Christians possess the work, so too does Eusebius himself.<sup>40</sup> It is noteworthy, furthermore, that, while Eusebius provides at least the one brief quotation from Quadratus’ work, he does not quote from Aristides’ apology.

Eusebius’ language in this passage of the *HE* demands attention because one scholar has suggested that Eusebius relied on Aristides’ *Apologia* when he composed a short chapter in the *PE* (VII.2) on the flaws of pagan theology. G. Schroeder points generally to the similarity of tone and argument between the *PE* and Aristides’ work, but he adduces only one passage as evidence of Eusebius’ direct use of Aristides.<sup>41</sup> At *PE* VII.2.6 Eusebius explains how the pagan worship of pleasure culminates in unnatural acts such as men’s marrying their mothers and committing incest with their daughters.<sup>42</sup> Schroeder argues that the pairing of μητρογαμία and θυγατρομιξία

<sup>39</sup> For bibliography on Aristides, See J. Quasten, *Patrology* (Utrecht, 1950), I.191–195, and P. Siniscalco in *EEC* I (1992), pp. 72–73.

<sup>40</sup> *HE* IV.3.2: εἰς ἔτι δὲ φέρεται παρὰ πλείστοις τῶν ἀδελφῶν, ἀτὰρ καὶ παρ’ ἡμῖν τὸ σύγγραμμα. (“His book is still extant among many of our brothers, but also among ourselves.”) Cf. A. Harnack, “Die Apologien des Quadratus und Aristides,” *Die Überlieferung der griechischen Apologeten des zweiten Jahrhunderts in der alten Kirche und im Mittelalter*, TU 1 (Leipzig, 1882; reprinted, Berlin, 1991), p. 102. The suggestion of Lawlor and Oulton, II.34, that the apologies of Quadratus and Aristides were contained on the same papyrus roll in Eusebius’ library must be rejected.

<sup>41</sup> G. Schroeder, *SC* #215 (Paris, 1975), pp. 37–40. Schroeder, p. 37, note 1, appeals to the “numerous parallels” between Aristides and the *PE* drawn by C. Vona in his Italian translation of the Syriac text, *L’Apologia di Aristide*, Lateranum 16 (Rome, 1950), but these parallels are meant to explain Aristides’ meaning and to provide comparisons of the Christian apologetic method; they are not evidence of Eusebius’ direct dependence on Aristides.

<sup>42</sup> *PE* VII.2.6: . . . ἐπὶ κακοῖς κακὰ συνηγείρετο, γυναιμανίαις καὶ ἀρρένων φθοραῖς μητρογαμίαις τε καὶ θυγατρομιξίαις τὸν πάντα καταφρομένοισι βίον. . . (“Evils were added to evils, madness for women, the perdition of the male sex, and both the marrying of mothers and incest with daughters being thoroughly mixed together so as to defile their whole lives.”)

derives from Aristides, *Apologia*, 8.2, a passage that, however, survives only in Syriac, which prevents Schroeder from demonstrating any specific verbal parallel with Eusebius' Greek. The Syriac text, however, simply uses a verb of marrying with nouns of mothers, sisters, and daughters.<sup>43</sup>

Schroeder restores the passage in Aristides as μητρογαμίαις <καὶ ἀδελφομυζίαις> καὶ θυγατρομυζίαις <ἐμίγησαν>. But while Schroeder thus maintains the idea of marriage to one's mother, he alters the meaning of the Syriac text by using Eusebius' word for incest with one's daughter and by restoring a word for incest with one's sister. Even if the Syriac cannot be trusted to have given a literal rendering of Aristides' Greek, the change from marriage to one's sister or daughter to incest with one's sister or daughter is directly attributable to Schroeder's attempt to impose Eusebius' vocabulary on the Syriac text. A simple construction of such a verb as γαμεῖν with the objects μητέρας, ἀδελφάς, and θυγατέρας in Aristides' original text is at least as plausible as Schroeder's restored text, if it is not even more plausible. It may further be noted that Schroeder's supposed verbal correspondence is of only two words, the concept of incest with or marriage to one's sister being absent from the passage in Eusebius' *PE*.

Aristides did not necessarily employ the words μητρογαμία and θυγατρομυζία, and Schroeder's conjectured parallel between Aristides and Eusebius is quite tenuous. One may even ask whether the charge that pagans engaged in unnatural acts had, by Eusebius' time at least, become too common to require a specific source.<sup>44</sup> The evidence of *HE* IV.3.3 should therefore be preferred, since it plainly indicates that Eusebius did not possess Aristides' apology.

*Ariston of Pella* In his discussion of the Jewish Revolt of 132–135 (*HE* IV.6), Eusebius explains that, after the fall of Jerusalem, Hadrian

<sup>43</sup> Schroeder cites the Latin translation of Goodspeed: *cum matribus et sororibus et filiabus suis, dicunt, connubio iuncti sunt*. Cf. J. R. Harris's translation in his *The Apology of Aristides on Behalf of the Christians from a Syriac MS. Preserved on Mount Sinai*, Texts and Studies: Contributions to Biblical and Patristic Literature, vol. 1, second edition (Cambridge, 1893), p. 40: "and some of them, they say, were in wedlock with their mothers and sisters and daughters." I thank G. B. Deimling for consulting the original of the Syriac for me.

<sup>44</sup> Later, Eusebius himself would speak of ancient pagans who practiced incest with their mothers, married their sisters, and corrupted their daughters: *On Christ's Sepulchre* [*Laus Constantini*] 13.14 (probably dependent on the *PE*).



forbade all Jews entrance to the city. Eusebius then states that Ἀρίστων ὁ Πελλαῖος ἱστορεῖ, “Ariston of Pella records it” (*HE* IV.6.3). The only other independent<sup>45</sup> evidence of this Ariston of Pella comes from the scholia of St. Maximus the Confessor on Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagiticus’ *De mystica theologia* I: “I read this ‘seven heavens’ in the work by Ariston of Pella, the *Dialogue of Papiscus and Jason*, which Clement of Alexandria says, in the sixth book of his *Hypotyposes*, that St. Luke wrote.”<sup>46</sup> Most scholars have accepted Maximus the Confessor’s identification of Ariston of Pella as the author of the *Altercatio Iasonis et Papisci*, a dialogue that opposed a Jewish Christian and an Alexandrian Jew, respectively, and they have further assumed that Eusebius must have found his reference to Hadrian’s treatment of the Jews in this *Altercatio*.<sup>47</sup> The connection between Ariston of Pella and the *Altercatio*, however, is quite tenuous: Maximus the Confessor’s testimony is very late, and earlier witnesses either report obviously inaccurate authorship or attest to an anonymous *Altercatio Iasonis et Papisci*. Thus, Clement of Alexandria attributes the *Altercatio* to St. Luke,<sup>48</sup> and Origen (*CC* IV.52) records Celsus’ reference to a Ἰάσωνος

<sup>45</sup> References in the *Chronicon Paschale* (under AD 134) and by the Armenian historian Moses of Chorene are dependent upon Eusebius. See E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 BC–AD 135)*, new English edition revised and edited by G. Vermes and F. Millar (Edinburgh, 1973), I.37–39.

<sup>46</sup> Maximus the Confessor, PG 4: 421–422: ἀνέγνων δὲ τοῦτο ἐπὶ τὰ οὐρανόθεν καὶ ἐν τῇ συγγεγραμμένῃ Ἀρίστωνι τῷ Πελλαίῳ διαλέξει Παπίσκου καὶ Ἰάσωνος, ἣν Κλήμης ὁ Ἀλεξανδρεὺς ἐν ἑκτῷ βιβλίῳ τῶν Ὑποτυπώσεων τὸν ἄγιον Λουκᾶν φησὶν ἀναγράψαι.

<sup>47</sup> Fragments of the dialogue appear at PG 5:1277–1286. For the traditional identification, see A. von Harnack, *Geschichte der altchr. Lit.*, II.1, pp. 268–269; J. Quasten, *Patrology* (Utrecht, 1950), I.195–196; and, recently, A. Külzer, *Disputationes graecae contra Iudaeos: Untersuchungen zur byzantinischen antijüdischen Dialogliteratur und ihrem Judenbild*, *Byzantinisches Archiv* 18 (Stuttgart, 1999), pp. 95–96. E. Schürer, *HJP* (1973), I.38, for example, draws the conclusion that Eusebius used Ariston’s *Altercatio*. Nevertheless, on p. 39, citing F. Jacoby, *FGrH* 201, he notes the possibility that Ariston wrote a historical work. J. E. Bruns, “The *Altercatio Iasonis et Papisci*, Philo, and Anastasius the Sinaite,” *Theological Studies* 34 (1973), p. 288, does not actually reject the association of Ariston of Pella with the *Altercatio*, but he does note that the information on Hadrian’s law could have come not from the *Altercatio* but from another work by Ariston.

<sup>48</sup> T. D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius* (Cambridge, MA, 1981), p. 131, note 24, intimates that, because (according to Maximus the Confessor) Clement of Alexandria quoted the *Altercatio* in his *Hypotyposes*, a work that was in the library of Caesarea, Eusebius could have drawn his reference to Ariston of Pella from Clement. Apart from the problematic connection of Ariston and the *Altercatio*, this explanation ignores Maximus the Confessor’s statement that Clement attributed the *Altercatio* to St. Luke, not Ariston of Pella, and so, had Eusebius taken the reference from Clement, he would have attributed it to St. Luke rather than Ariston. The explanation still fails



καὶ Παπίσκου ἀντιλογία and then shows himself familiar with the work, while later Jerome twice (*Comm. ad Gal.*, 2.14; *Quaest. in Gen.*, 1.1) refers to an *Altercatio Iasonis et Papisci* without mention of its authorship. Similarly, in the extant Latin preface, the translator of the *Altercatio* does not name any author of the dialogue.<sup>49</sup> It seems quite likely that Maximus the Confessor's statement represents a late and unreliable attribution of the *Altercatio* to Ariston of Pella, since Celsus, Origen, Jerome, and the Latin translator all do not identify Ariston as the author but rather leave the dialogue's author anonymous.

If Ariston of Pella did not compose the *Altercatio Iasonis et Papisci*, then Eusebius cannot be referring to this dialogue at *HE* IV.6.4. Furthermore, if Ariston is not associated with the *Altercatio*, it is no longer necessary to assume that Ariston of Pella was Christian.<sup>50</sup> He may instead have been Jewish, the author of a history that examined the Jewish Revolt from the perspective of the losing side.<sup>51</sup> Ariston may have been one of Eusebius' primary sources for the whole of *HE* IV.6 (as well as for some information in the *Chronicon*, pp. 200–201 Helm). Perhaps, too, if it is permissible to speculate, Ariston's history embraced not only the Jewish Revolt of 132–136 but also the Jewish War of 115–117. In this way, Ariston of Pella

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if Maximus' ἦν (referring to the dialogue) is amended to ὄν (referring to Jason), as Bruns (*Theol. St.* [1973], p. 287, note 3), following Zahn, suggests, because Maximus now simply adds that Clement identified the Jason of the *Altercatio* with the Jason of Acts 17:5–9.

<sup>49</sup> The extant preface to the lost Latin translation of this dialogue gives some description of the work: *Ad Vigilium*, 8 (*Cypriani opera* III.128–129 [CSEL]).

<sup>50</sup> T. D. Barnes, *CE*, p. 131, note 24, cites Ariston of Pella as an example of a Christian author whom Eusebius refers to but whose work he probably had not read because he provides no description of the author in his own right. Whether the general principle is true or not, the specific example can be challenged: Eusebius may not record Ariston of Pella as one of the prominent Christian writers of the age because Ariston was not Christian (or, if he was a Jew, because his work was not useful enough to the Christian message).

R. M. Grant, *Greek Apologists of the Second Century* (Philadelphia, 1988), p. 42, assumes that Ariston of Pella was a Christian apologist and attributes to him the substance of the entries on the Jewish War under Hadrian in Eusebius' *Chronicon* (pp. 200–201 Helm). But, while Ariston was a source for this war, not all of the information in the *Chronicon* need derive from this single source. The information that most readily implies a Christian source, that Bar Cocheba killed Christians who did not assist in the war against the Romans, is, for example, very similar to Justin Martyr's observation (*Apol.* I.31.6) that Bar Cocheba punished Christians who did not apostatize.

<sup>51</sup> F. Jacoby, *FGrH* 201, Commentary II.D, pp. 627–628, holds out the possibility that Ariston of Pella composed a history.

may lurk behind Eusebius' account of this war at *HE* IV.2, which concludes: "Those of the Greeks who hand down in writing the events of the same time also recorded these things in their own words." (*HE* IV.2.5).<sup>52</sup>

However Ariston of Pella's lost work may be conceived, it is to this work that Eusebius refers at *HE* IV.6.4. If Eusebius used this work as a source for both the Jewish War under Hadrian at *HE* IV.6 (and in the *Chronicon*) and the Jewish Revolt under Trajan at *HE* IV.2 (and in the *Chronicon*), then it is even more likely that Eusebius possessed a copy of the work and used it directly. There is nevertheless the possibility that Eusebius drew his single reference to Ariston of Pella from an unidentified intermediary.

One may, furthermore, assume that the *Altercatio Iasonis et Papisci* was contained in the library at Caesarea. Origen's reference to the work in the *Contra Celsum* (IV.52) is, like his reference to the work of Aristobulus in the preceding chapter, made in order to contradict Celsus' twisted interpretation. Origen's own judgment of the quality of the *Altercatio* and his summary of its content indicate his knowledge of the text and so, probably, his direct reference to it.

*Bardesanes* At the end of the fourth book of the *HE*, Eusebius makes brief mention of Bardesanes (154–222).<sup>53</sup> Eusebius explains that in his native language of Syriac Bardesanes composed dialogues against the heretic Marcion and the leaders of other heresies and that his students translated these dialogues into Greek (*HE* IV.30.1). Eusebius names one of these dialogues: "Among them is that most satisfactory dialogue of his *On Fate* addressed to Antoninus," ἐν οἷς ἐστὶν καὶ ὁ πρὸς Ἀντωνίνον ἱκανώτατος αὐτοῦ Περὶ εἰμαρμένης διάλογος. This dialogue *On Fate* is almost certainly the same work as that which Eusebius quotes at *PE* VI.10 for criticism of astrology, the extant *Liber legum regionum*.<sup>54</sup> Eusebius introduces the quotation with the

<sup>52</sup> *HE* IV.2.5: ταῦτα καὶ Ἕλληνων οἱ τὰ κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους γραφῇ παραδόντες αὐτοῖς ἰστόρησαν ῥήμασιν. Cf. for a similar view R. M. Grant, *Greek Apologists*, p. 32. Here, however, the Jewish Ariston has become a Greek, a non-Christian.

<sup>53</sup> The standard treatment of Bardesanes is H. J. W. Drijvers, *Bardaisan of Edessa* (Assen, 1966).

<sup>54</sup> H. J. W. Drijvers, *Bardaisan*, pp. 60–76, assesses the evidence and makes this identification. His arguments are accepted here. The *Liber legum regionum* was originally written in Syriac by one of Bardesanes' pupils named Philip (Drijvers, pp. 66–67).

words: “[Bardesanes] is remembered to have said these things in his dialogues with his companions,” ἐν τοῖς πρὸς τοὺς ἑταίρους διαλόγοις τάδε πη μνημονεύεται φάναι (*PE* VI.9.32). Two points in this identification ought to be discussed. First, Eusebius’ introduction to the extract in the *PE* requires explanation, since Eusebius does not provide the full title of the dialogue. The phrase μνημονεύεται φάναι is likely used to refer to Bardesanes as one of the participants in the dialogue, since there are several interlocutors. The phrase may also refer to Eusebius’ knowledge that one of Bardesanes’ students (that is, one of the translators of the Syriac works) actually compiled the dialogue. Second, Eusebius is the only witness to the words πρὸς Ἀντωνίνου in the title of the work.<sup>55</sup> The words can be variously interpreted: “addressed to Antoninus;” “with Antoninus;” or “against Antoninus.”<sup>56</sup> Perhaps there is no solution, for the Antoninus named could be either a private citizen or an emperor.<sup>57</sup>

Because Eusebius can only name one of the dialogues for which Bardesanes was responsible, one suspects that Eusebius did not actually know or possess any of the dialogues against Marcion or any other heretics. The dialogue Περὶ εἰμαρμένης, a Greek translation of a Syriac original, named in *HE* IV.30.2 and quoted at *PE* VI.10 (and thus to be identified with the *Liber legum regionum*), however, was certainly available to Eusebius in the library at Caesarea.

*Beryllus of Bostra* Eusebius discusses Beryllus of Bostra twice, at *HE* VI.20.2 and VI.33. At *HE* VI.20.1 Eusebius explains that many learned churchmen flourished in the reign of Caracalla and that these men left letters in the library established at Jerusalem by Alexander, a library that Eusebius utilized when he composed his *HE*. One of these learned churchmen was Beryllus of Bostra, who

<sup>55</sup> H. J. W. Drijvers, *Bardaisan*, pp. 64–70, emphasizes that Theodoret, *Haeretic. Fab. Comp.*, I.22, though he has read the work *On Fate*, does not associate it with the name Antoninus.

<sup>56</sup> Lawlor and Oulton translate “to Antoninus” but note the possibility of “with Antoninus.” In his Loeb edition, Lake translates “with Antoninus.” Bardy translates “addressed to Antoninus.” Drijvers (p. 169) cannot decide between “against Antoninus” and “with Antoninus.”

<sup>57</sup> For the argument that a private citizen may be meant, see H. J. W. Drijvers, *Bardaisan*, p. 69. If it is an emperor (the more likely alternative), it is probably not Marcus Aurelius but Caracalla or Elagabalus: see G. Bardy, *SC* #31 (Paris, 1952), p. 215, note 3.

wrote letters as well as other beautiful works, all of which Eusebius must have obtained from Alexander's library in Jerusalem.<sup>58</sup>

Eusebius returns to Beryllus at *HE* VI.33 to recount how Origen, at the request of certain bishops, discussed Beryllus' suspect Christology and turned him back to orthodoxy. Eusebius adds that "documents" of Beryllus and of the synod described above, including Origen's interrogation of Beryllus and other discussions in Bostra, "are still now extant."<sup>59</sup> Eusebius thus possessed not only letters and various other works by Beryllus of Bostra but also the record of a synod held at Bostra to investigate the orthodoxy of its bishop. One suspects that the record of this synod of Bostra was transmitted to Caesarea either as an official notification of the synod's resolution, since the church in Caesarea had an interest in the synod because it sent Origen and possibly others as participants, or simply as part of the works of Origen, since he seems to have played the leading role in the discussions with Beryllus.<sup>60</sup>

*Bruttius* In the *Chronicon* Eusebius records that Bruttius (Brettius in the Armenian version) wrote of the martyrdoms under Domitian, including the exile of Flavia Domitilla.<sup>61</sup> At *HE* III.18.4 Eusebius

<sup>58</sup> *HE* VI.20.1: ἤκμαζον δὲ κατὰ τοῦτο πλείους λόγιοι καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ ἄνδρες, ὧν καὶ ἐπιστολάς, ὥς πρὸς ἀλλήλους διεξάρατον, ἔτι νῦν σφριζόμενας εὐρεῖν εὐπορον. . . . [2] τούτων Βήρυλλος σὺν ἐπιστολαῖς καὶ συγγραμμάτων διαφόρους φιλοκαλίᾳς καταλέλοιπεν, ἐπίσκοπος δ' οὗτος ἦν τῶν κατὰ βόστραν Ἀράβων. ("At this time many learned churchmen flourished, and it is easy to find the letters that they used to write to each other still now preserved. . . . Of these, Beryllus has left behind, together with his letters, various beautiful works; this man was bishop of the Arabs at Bostra.")

<sup>59</sup> *HE* VI.33.3: καὶ φέρεται γέ εἰς ἔτι νῦν ἔγγραφα τοῦ τε Βηρύλλου καὶ τῆς δι' αὐτὸν γενομένης συνόδου, ὁμοῦ τὰς Ὠριγένους πρὸς αὐτὸν ζητήσεις καὶ τὰς λεχθείσας ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ παροικίας διαλέξεις ἕκαστά τε τῶν τότε πεπραγμένων περιέχοντα. ("And there are still extant to this very day records in writing both of Beryllus and of the synod that was held on his account, which contain at once the questions Origen put to him and the discussions that took place in his own community, and all that was done on that occasion" [trans. Oulton].)

<sup>60</sup> See also the section on Hippolytus below for discussion of Beryllus' letters and the meaning of ἔγγραφα at *HE* VI.33.3.

<sup>61</sup> *Chronicon*, p. 192e Helm: scribit Bruttius plurimos Christianorum sub Domitiano fecisse martyrium, inter quos et Flaviam Domitillam, Flavii Clementis consulis ex sorore neptem, in insulam Pontiam relegatam quia se Christianam esse testata sit. ("Bruttius writes that very many Christians were martyred under Domitian, among them Flavia Domitilla, niece of the consul Flavius Clemens by his sister, who was exiled to the island of Pontia because she testified that she was a Christian.") See p. 218 Karst for the Armenian. J. B. Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers* (London, 1890), I.1, pp. 46–49, records the

refers vaguely to non-Christian historians for these martyrdoms under Domitian, including the exile of Flavia Domitilla.<sup>62</sup> Apparently, Eusebius followed in the *HE* the entry he wrote in the *Chronicon*, although in the *HE* he omitted the specific reference to his source.<sup>63</sup> But, Bruttius was probably not Eusebius' immediate source. Instead, Eusebius likely drew the reference to Bruttius, and thus also the story of Flavia Domitilla's exile, from Hegesippus' *Hypomnemata*.<sup>64</sup> Eusebius relied extensively on Hegesippus for the content of *HE* III.11–20, especially for Vespasian's and Domitian's measures that affected Christians in Palestine, and the report of Flavia Domitilla's banishment would conform well to Hegesippus' information as an illustration of Domitian's persecution.

*Clement of Alexandria* Eusebius provides a catalogue of the works of Clement of Alexandria (ca. AD 150–215) at *HE* VI.13. The catalogue begins: "But of Clement the *Stromateis*, all the eight books, are preserved with us, upon which he bestowed the following title, 'Titus Flavius Clement's *Stromateis* of Gnostic Memoirs according to the True Philosophy.'" <sup>65</sup> Eusebius reports that all eight books of the *Stromateis* "are preserved with us," παρ' ἡμῖν σφύζονται, and so it appears that Eusebius possessed a complete copy of Clement's *Stromateis*, whose full title Eusebius likely transcribed directly from his text. At the completion of the catalogue Eusebius gives a brief description of the *Stromateis*, how it utilized Scripture as well as Greek and Jewish authors. Eusebius clearly demonstrates his firsthand knowledge of this text by his report of which disputed scriptural texts Clement referred

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traditional identification of this Bruttius with the Bruttius Praesens of Pliny, *Ep.* 7.3. See R. Syme, *Roman Papers*, E. Badian, ed. (Oxford, 1979), II.489–492, for information on this Bruttius' career. Bruttius is also cited three times by the late chronicler Malalas.

<sup>62</sup> *HE* III.18.4: . . . ὥς καὶ τοὺς ἀποθεν τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς λόγου συγγραφεῖς μὴ ἀποκνήσαι ταῖς αὐτῶν ἱστορίαις τὸν τε διωγμὸν καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ μαρτύρια παραδοῦναι . . . ("so that even those writers far from our teaching do not hesitate to relate in their histories both the persecution and the martyrdoms in it").

<sup>63</sup> Lawlor and Oulton, II.88, attribute Eusebius' omission here to his desultory style in following his source. But, perhaps Eusebius did not wish to mention this pagan source in his ecclesiastical history.

<sup>64</sup> For the argument for this identification, see A. J. Carriker, "Seven Unidentified Sources in Eusebius' *Historia Ecclesiastica*," *Nova Doctrina Vetusque*, D. Kries et al., edd. (New York, 1999), pp. 81–83.

<sup>65</sup> *HE* VI.13.1: τοῦ δὲ Κλήμεντος Στρωματεῖς, οἱ πάντες ὁκτώ, παρ' ἡμῖν σφύζονται, οὓς καὶ τοιαύτης ἡξίωσεν προγραφῆς Τίτου Φλαυίου Κλήμεντος τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀληθὴ φιλοσοφίαν γνωστικῶν ὑπομνημάτων στρωματεῖς. The translation is Oulton's.

to and which Christian and Jewish writers he used. Eusebius' own heavy reliance on this work in both the *PE* and *HE* further confirms the testimony of the catalogue. Eusebius quotes from Books I, III, V, VI, and VII of the *Stromateis* in *HE* III and V and in *PE* IX, X, and XIII, including thirty pages at *PE* XIII.13.<sup>66</sup>

The second work listed in the catalogue is the *Hypotyposes*, also in eight books: ἰσάριθμοί τε τούτοις εἰσὶν οἱ ἐπιγεγραμμένοι Ὑποτυπώσεων (*HE* VI.13.2). At the end of the catalogue, Eusebius returns to the *Hypotyposes* and describes how it provides explanations of the canon of Scripture (*HE* VI.14.1–2); Eusebius then quotes several lines from the work (VI.14.3–4); next, Eusebius summarizes Clement's treatment of the order of the Gospels (VI.14.5–7). In addition to this description of the *Hypotyposes*, Eusebius twice refers to the work as a source (at *HE* I.12.2 and II.15.2) and thrice quotes briefly from the work (*HE* II.1.3 from *Hyp.* VI; and II.1.4–5 and II.9.3 from *Hyp.* VII).<sup>67</sup>

The catalogue continues: ἔστιν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸς Ἑλληνας λόγος ὁ Προτρεπτικός (*HE* VI.13.3). Eusebius quotes from the *Protrepticus ad Graecos* only in the *PE*: at length at *PE* II.3 for criticism of pagan rites (eight pages) and at *PE* II.6 for the argument that Greek temples are but the tombs of men (almost two pages), with a final quotation at *PE* IV.16.12–13 as another piece of evidence for the existence of human sacrifice (one page).

Eusebius next lists τρεῖς τε οἱ τοῦ ἐπιγεγραμμένου Παιδαγωγοῦ, the three books of the *Paedagogus*; καὶ τίς ὁ σφζόμενος πλούσιος οὕτως ἐπιγραφείς ἕτερος αὐτοῦ λόγος, and the *Quis dives salvetur*. Eusebius makes no references to the *Paedagogus*, but he quotes once at length from the *Quis dives salvetur* in the *HE* for information about St. John the Evangelist (*HE* III.23.6–19, covering six pages).

Eusebius further records τό τε Περὶ τοῦ πάσχα σύγγραμμα (*De pascha*),

<sup>66</sup> Although he recognizes that Eusebius drew extensively and directly from Clement's *Stromateis*, J. Coman, "Utilisation des Stromates de Clément d'Alexandrie par Eusèbe de Césarée dans la Préparation Evangélique," *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, F. Paschke, ed. (Berlin, 1981), pp. 132–133, suggests that Eusebius actually drew the extract of *PE* XIII.13 from an anthology. There is no need to posit such an intermediary.

<sup>67</sup> D. T. Runia, *Philo in Early Christian Literature*, p. 7, has also suggested that the *Hypotyposes* was Eusebius' source for the legendary meeting of Philo and St. Peter in Rome recorded by Eusebius at *HE* II.17.1. (H. J. Lawlor, *Eusebiana* [Oxford, 1912], p. 22 and note 3, is unable to identify the source of this passage in his discussion of the term λόγος (κατ'ἐχρησιν)).

which Eusebius briefly describes at *HE* VI.13.9, again indicating his direct acquaintance with the work by observing Clement's reported motivation to compose the work and Clement's own use of Melito (of Sardis) and Irenaeus in the work. Eusebius also refers to this work at *HE* IV.26.4 in his discussion of the works of Melito of Sardis, repeating much of what is said in the catalogue: that Melito also wrote a work *De pascha* and that Clement not only used Melito's work in his own *De pascha* but was also prompted to write his *De Pascha* by Melito's work.

The remaining works listed in the catalogue are not cited elsewhere in Eusebius' works. Eusebius records: καὶ διαλέξεις Περὶ νηστείας καὶ Περὶ καταλαλιᾶς, discourses *On Fasting* and *On Slander*; καὶ ὁ Προτρεπτικὸς εἰς ὑπομονὴν ἢ πρὸς τοὺς νεωστὶ βαπτισμένους, an *Exhortation to Endurance*, or *To the Newly Baptized*; καὶ ὁ ἐπιγεγραμμένος Κανὼν ἐκκλησιαστικὸς ἢ πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίζοντας, a work called *Ecclesiastical Canon*, or *To [or Against] the Judaizers*, and dedicated to Alexander of Jerusalem.<sup>68</sup> Presumably, these last four works were like the previous six listed in the catalogue and were available to Eusebius at Caesarea. Eusebius' statement that the full eight books of the *Stromateis* "are preserved with us," indeed, may best be understood to apply to all of the works Eusebius recorded in the catalogue.

*Clement of Rome* Among the prominent successors of the Apostles named at the end of *HE* III is Clement of Rome, whose works Eusebius lists at *HE* III.38. Clement's epistle addressed from the church of the Romans to the church of the Corinthians is described by Eusebius as "acknowledged by all" (ἐν τῇ ἀνωμολογουμένη παρὰ πάντων, *HE* III.38.1), the same judgment as that given by Eusebius at *HE* III.16: τούτου δὲ οὖν ὁμολογουμένη μία ἐπιστολὴ φέρεται. As proof of its acceptance, Eusebius relates that this letter was in the past and is in Eusebius' own day still read in churches (*HE* III.16) and that the letter makes use of the Epistle to the Hebrews (*HE* III.38.1). The letter is undoubtedly the extant first epistle of Clement of Rome, and, even though he does not quote from the letter, his

<sup>68</sup> Rufinus translates these titles: *disputatio de ieiunio et de obtreptione et alius exhortatorius ad patientiam et alius ad neofytos, sed et ille, qui superscribitur Canon ecclesiasticus. Item alius de his, qui Iudaicum sensum in scripturis sequuntur. . . .* Rufinus thus divides into four separate works the *Exhortation*; and *To the Newly Baptized*; and the *Ecclesiastical Canon*; and *To the Judaizers*.



obvious knowledge of it indicates that Eusebius possessed a copy of this epistle. This letter was known to many early Christian writers, so it was probably not difficult for Eusebius to obtain a copy of it. While one suspects that Origen had a copy of Clement's first epistle at Caesarea, the strongest evidence of Origen's use of the epistle, the quotation of a short passage from 1 Ep. 20, comes from two works not written at Caesarea.<sup>69</sup>

A second epistle ascribed to Clement also exists: ἰστέον δ' ὡς καὶ δευτέρα τις εἶναι λέγεται τοῦ Κλήμεντος ἐπιστολή (*HE* III.38.4). Eusebius describes this letter as less well-known than the first epistle and, to Eusebius' knowledge, one not used by ancient Christians. Such information suggests that Eusebius was familiar with what was known as the Second Epistle of Clement of Rome, even though he himself seems to have doubted its authenticity (hence Eusebius' use of λέγεται). One may suppose that this spurious letter, like the first, genuine one, was available to Eusebius in the library at Caesarea.<sup>70</sup>

Eusebius is sceptical of the authenticity of still other works ascribed to Clement of Rome, for they were, he thinks, produced recently. These works contain "dialogues of Peter and Apion" and are not used by ancient Christians because they lack apostolic orthodoxy.<sup>71</sup> No "dialogues of Peter and Apion" are extant, but they presumably

<sup>69</sup> J. B. Lighfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers* (London, 1890), vol. I, part 1, pp. 148–200, collects the quotations and references to Clement of Rome by patristic authors, including those by Origen (pp. 161–162). See Origen, *De principiis* 2.3.6, written at Alexandria (*HE* VI.24); *Selecta in Ezechielem* 8.3, completed at Athens (*HE* VI.32.2). Even if the sixth book of the *Comm. in Johan.* was composed at Caesarea (cf. P. Nautin, *Origène*, pp. 377–378), the reference at 6.36 need not be firsthand. According to Lightfoot, there are possible allusions to 1 Clement at *Hom. in Jos.* 3.5 (Clement, 12) and *Contra Celsum* 4.98 (Clement, 25), both of which works were composed at Caesarea.

<sup>70</sup> This second epistle may be identified with the extant Second Epistle ascribed to Clement that was forged probably in the middle of the second century and that is attached to Clement's genuine epistle in some manuscripts. Cf. Lawlor and Oulton, II.111, who argue against Harnack that Eusebius' statements are a demonstration of Eusebius' direct acquaintance with the Second Epistle of Clement.

<sup>71</sup> *HE* III.38.5: ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἕτερα πολυεπὴ καὶ μακρὰ συγγράμματα ὡς τοῦ αὐτοῦ χθὲς καὶ πρῶν τινὲς προήγαγον, Πέτρου δὴ καὶ Ἀπίωνος διαλόγους περιέχοντα. ὧν οὐδ' ὅλως μνήμη τις παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς φέρεται, οὐδὲ γὰρ καθαρὸν τῆς ἀποστολικῆς ὀρθοδοξίας ἀποσφάζει τὸν χαρακτῆρα. ("And now certain persons have brought forward just recently other wordy and lengthy treatises purporting to be his, containing dialogues of Peter, forsooth, and Apion. These are not so much as even mentioned by the men of old, nor do they preserve the stamp of apostolic orthodoxy intact" [trans. Oulton].)



formed part of the literature upon which was based the later pseudo-Clementine literature, the *Homilies* and *Recognitions* that have in fact survived.<sup>72</sup> It again seems that Eusebius has some familiarity with the text named, since in order to declare that no churchmen have used these dialogues Eusebius must have been able to recognize usages of the text when he encountered them. Eusebius describes these dialogues as having been produced *χθὲς καὶ πρόην*, “very recently,” the same words as were used to describe the production of the blasphemous *Acta Pilati*, which Eusebius says were fabricated in the reign of Maximin Daia. Whether these lost dialogues ought to be dated to the early fourth century is of course unknown, but Eusebius’ language may suggest that the library of Caesarea acquired at least these pseudo-Clementine works in Eusebius’ lifetime.

Whether the library at Caesarea contained any of the other basic writings behind the pseudo-Clementine *Homilies* and *Recognitions* is uncertain. There may be references to such literature in Origen’s work at Caesarea, but the evidence is inconclusive.<sup>73</sup> Nevertheless, if some of these basic writings existed at Caesarea and Eusebius considered them as unorthodox as the “dialogues of Peter and Apion,” then it may be for this reason that Eusebius eschews discussion of them. Eusebius emphasizes orthodox and canonical writings in his history, referring to traditionally unaccepted writings only when discussing the Scriptural canon (cf. *HE* III.3.2–5, uncanonical writings attributed to Peter and Paul; *HE* III.25.6–7, works used by heretics).

*Dionysius of Alexandria* Eusebius draws extensively from the letters of Dionysius of Alexandria at the end of *HE* VI and in much of *HE* VII. In the preface to *HE* VII Eusebius even proclaims his dependence on Dionysius’ letters. These letters were evidently available to Eusebius in several collections according to subject: one devoted to

<sup>72</sup> Apion figures in discussions with Clement in *Hom.* 4–6, and Peter and Clement appear in *Hom.* 1. The pseudo-Clementine *Homilies* and *Recognitions* are commonly dated to the fourth century, composed perhaps in Syria, while the underlying basic writing is dated to the early third century. Recent bibliography is given by F. S. Jones, “Clementines, Pseudo-,” *The Anchor Bible Dictionary* (1992), I.1061–1062, and R. Trevijano, “Clementines, Pseudo-,” *EEC* I (1992), p. 179. Dom J. Chapman, “On the Date of the Clementines,” *ζNTW* 9 (1908), pp. 21–34 and 147–159, argues that the *Grundschrift* of the pseudo-Clementine works includes the “dialogues of Peter and Apion” and was completed after the Council of Nicaea.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. Origen, *Contra Celsum* 1.57 and 6.11 with *Hom. Clem.* 2.23–24.

the Novatianist Controversy, one devoted to the Baptismal Controversy, one of Festal Letters, and one devoted to Sabellianism.<sup>74</sup> In addition, Eusebius possessed various other works by Dionysius.

Sources for the Novatianist Controversy appear at *HE* VI.41–46. In this section Eusebius quotes from Dionysius' letter to Fabius of Antioch (VI.41.1–42.6); introduces the Novatianist Controversy at Rome and lists some letters pertaining to Novatian's schism (VI.43); returns to quote from Dionysius' letter to Fabius (VI.44.2–6); then quotes from Dionysius' letter to Novatus (Novatian in the letter's salutation); and lists other letters written by Dionysius, with a brief quotation from a letter to Cornelius of Rome (VI.46).

Eusebius probably employed two separate collections of letters on the Novatianist Controversy, one of letters authored by Dionysius (VI.41–42 and 44–46) and the other of letters authored by Cornelius of Rome and Cyprian of Carthage (VI.43). Included in the Dionysian Novatianist dossier are (1) Dionysius' letter to Fabius of Antioch (quoted at VI.41.1–42.6 and 44.2–6), and (2) Dionysius' letter to Novatus (quoted at VI.45), as well as the letters listed at VI.46: (3) to the Egyptians on Repentance; (4) to Conon [or Colon]<sup>75</sup> of Hermopolis on Repentance, which Eusebius notes is "extant" (φέρεται); (5) to the Flock at Alexandria; (6) to Origen on Martyrdom; (7) to the Brethren at Laodicea; (8) to the Brethren in Armenia on Repentance; (9) to Cornelius of Rome (from which one line is quoted at VI.46.4); (10) "Diaconic" to the Romans sent through Hippolytus, a letter Eusebius adds is "extant" (φέρεται);<sup>76</sup> (11) to the Romans on Peace and Repentance;<sup>77</sup> (12) to the Novatianist Confessors at Rome; (13) to the Confessors at Rome Returned to the Church; (14) again to the Confessors at Rome Returned to the Church.

The letters that do not obviously concern Novatianism, such as

<sup>74</sup> The work of H. J. Lawlor, *Eusebiana*, pp. 152–176, is particularly valuable for reconstructing the dossiers at Eusebius' disposal. Also useful is P. Nautin, *Les lettres et écrits chrétiens des II<sup>e</sup> et III<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Paris, 1961), pp. 143–165.

<sup>75</sup> E. Schwartz, *Die Kirchengeschichte*, p. 628, reads Colon, although some MSS and Jerome, *De viris ill.* 69, have Conon.

<sup>76</sup> It is unclear what the word διακονική means. Rufinus translates it as *de ministeriis*. P. Nautin, *Lettres et écrits chrétiens*, pp. 160–161, thinks that Dionysius announced his election as bishop in this letter.

<sup>77</sup> *HE* VI.46.5: τοῖς αὐτοῖς δὲ ἄλλην περὶ εἰρήνης διατυποῦται, καὶ ὡσαύτως περὶ μετανόιας ("in addition to these he wrote another letter on peace, and likewise on repentance"). H. J. Lawlor, *Eusebiana*, p. 157, counts this as two letters. Cf. A. Harnack, *Geschichte der altchr. Lit.*, p. 410.

those “on Repentance” or that to Origen, did conceivably concern the treatment of those who lapsed in the Decian persecution, the origin of the Novatianist schism.<sup>78</sup> It is plausible enough, then, to consider the letters listed above as part of a collection of letters written by Dionysius on the subject of Novatianism. But, while Lawlor goes further and suggests that this collection occupied a single roll of papyrus, it is difficult to determine whether this hypothesis is true.

The letters listed at VI.43 are likely part of a separate collection, devoted also to Novatianism but not authored by Dionysius of Alexandria. Nevertheless, this dossier may be associated with Dionysius’ works because it was probably brought to Caesarea<sup>79</sup> with the collection of Dionysius’ letters on Novatianism. As Nautin points out, Eusebius states that Dionysius sent his letter to Cornelius after receiving a letter from Cornelius against Novatus [Novatian] (VI.46.3). Nautin reasonably suspects that Cornelius sent Dionysius the dossier of letters catalogued at VI.43.<sup>80</sup> Cornelius’ Novatianist dossier includes: (1) Cornelius to Fabius of Antioch; (2) Cyprian on Novatian (in Latin); (3) Cornelius on the decisions of a synod held in judgment of Novatian; and (4) Cornelius to Fabius of Antioch (quoted repeatedly at VI.43.5–20).<sup>81</sup>

Eusebius draws from a collection of seven of Dionysius’ letters on the Baptismal Controversy between *HE* VII.5–9. At VII.5.1–2 Eusebius quotes from the “first” letter, to Stephen of Rome on Baptism; at VII.5.4–6 Eusebius quotes from the “second” letter, to Sixtus of Rome on Baptism; at VII.7 Eusebius quotes from the “third” letter, to Philemon the Roman Presbyter on Baptism; at VII.8 Eusebius quotes from the “fourth” letter, to Dionysius the Roman Presbyter (later bishop) on Baptism; and at VII.9.1–5 Eusebius quotes from the “fifth” letter, to Sixtus of Rome on Baptism. Two other letters

<sup>78</sup> Cf. H. J. Lawlor, *Eusebiana*, pp. 157–158.

<sup>79</sup> At *HE* VI.43.3 Eusebius begins the catalogue: ἡλθον δ’ οὖν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐπιστολαί. . .

<sup>80</sup> P. Nautin, *Lettres et écrivains*, p. 153. T. D. Barnes, *Tertullian: a Historical and Literary Study* (Oxford, 1971), p. 6, however, claims that Eusebius found the letters of Cyprian and Cornelius in the episcopal archives at Antioch.

<sup>81</sup> P. Nautin, *Lettres et écrivains*, pp. 145–147, identifies the first and fourth letters with each other. C. Andresen, “‘Siegreiche Kirche’ im Aufstieg des Christentums: Untersuchungen zu Eusebius von Caesarea und Dionysios von Alexandrien,” *ANRW* II.23.1 (1979), p. 400, follows Nautin in this identification. But, Nautin cannot easily explain away the fact that the fourth letter is introduced as καὶ πάλιν ἑτέρα, words that suggest another, distinct, fourth letter.

are listed as “extant” (φέρεται) at VII.9.6, one to Sixtus and the church at Rome and one to Dionysius of Rome on Lucian. The order of these letters, from first to fifth, is not chronological, since the second letter includes a reference to the third and fourth letters (cf. VII.5.6). Evidently, Eusebius made use of Dionysius’ letters on baptism in the order in which they were arranged in a dossier. Lawlor’s suggestion that these seven letters occupied a single roll of papyrus is in this case quite plausible.<sup>82</sup>

Approximately ten of Dionysius’ Festal Letters constituted another collection. Eusebius provides a catalogue of these “extant”<sup>83</sup> letters between *HE* VII.20–22: (1) to Flavius; (2) to Domitius and Didymus (quoted earlier, at VII.11.20–25); (3) to the Presbyters at Alexandria and to Others;<sup>84</sup> (4) to the Brethren in Alexandria; (5) to Hierax, an Egyptian Bishop (from which Eusebius then quotes at VII.21.2–10); (6) to the Brethren at Alexandria (from which Eusebius then quotes at VII.22.2–10); (7) to the Brethren in Egypt; (8) on Sabbath; (9) on Discipline; (10) to Hermammon and the Brethren in Egypt (from which Eusebius then quotes at VII.23.1–4, as he did earlier at VII.1 and 10, and which probably included the rescripts of Gallienus at VII.13).<sup>85</sup> Ten Festal Letters are listed, but the list can only be said to be approximate because at *HE* VII.22.11 Eusebius records the existence of “other” letters.<sup>86</sup> In addition, one letter seems to be missing. Eusebius quotes from Dionysius’ letter against Germanus (πρὸς Γερμανόν)<sup>87</sup> at *HE* VI.40 and VII.11.2–19, and, though the letter

<sup>82</sup> H. J. Lawlor, *Eusebiana*, p. 160. C. Andresen, *ANRW* II.23.1 (1979), p. 396, considers Eusebius’ numbering of these letters on baptism to reflect an archival list.

<sup>83</sup> *HE* VII.20.1: Διονύσιος πρὸς ταῖς δηλωθείσαις ἐπιστολαῖς αὐτοῦ ἔτι καὶ τὰς φερομένας ἐορταστικὰς τὸ τηνικαῦτα συντάττει . . . (“Dionysius, in addition to the letters of his that were mentioned, composed at that time also the festal letters which are still extant” [trans. Oulton]). The word φέρεται also appears at VII.22.11.

<sup>84</sup> It is possible that more than one letter is described here (VII.20): πρὸς ταύταις καὶ ἄλλην τοῖς κατ’ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν συμπρεσβυτέρους ἐπιστολὴν διαχαράττει ἐτέροις τε ὁμοῦ διαφόρως (“In addition to these he penned also another letter to his fellow-presbyters at Alexandria, and to others at the same time in different places” [trans. Oulton]). H. J. Lawlor, *Eusebiana*, p. 162 and note 1, believes one letter is meant, since, if two letters were meant, “we should have expected some such word as ἄλλην before ἐτέροις.”

<sup>85</sup> On Gallienus’ rescripts, see the section below on Gallienus, pp. 206–207.

<sup>86</sup> *HE* VII.22.11: καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ πάλιν ἄλλας διατυπῶνται.

<sup>87</sup> For the rendering “Against Germanus,” see H. J. Lawlor, *Eusebiana*, p. 164. H. Pietras, “Lettera πρὸς Γερμανὸν δι’ Διονίγι’ Alessandrino: osservazioni e prova di ricostruzione,” *Gregorianum* 71 (1990), p. 573, without reference to Lawlor, comes to the same conclusion. Pietras, pp. 582–583, also suggests that part of Dionysius’

concerns Dionysius' behavior during the persecutions of Decius and Valerian, as some of Dionysius' other Festal Letters do, it is not named in Eusebius' list of the Festal Letters. This letter, however, may have had another title under which it was included in the catalogue at *HE* VII.20–22, such as one of the letters to the brethren at Alexandria or in Egypt (numbers 3, 4, or 7).<sup>88</sup>

At *HE* VII.26.1 Eusebius lists Dionysius' "extant" (φέρονται) letters on the heresy of Sabellianism: (1) to Ammon of Bernice against Sabellius; (2) to Telesphorus; (3) to Euphranor; (4) again to Ammon and Euphranor. Also forming part of this collection of letters are the four letters (or books: τέσσαρα συγγράμματα) on Sabellianism Dionysius addressed to Dionysius, the bishop of Rome. One is furthermore tempted to assign to this collection the work from which Eusebius quotes at *PE* VII.19. Eusebius introduces the extract from this work at *PE* VII.18.13: . . . Διονυσίου, ὃς ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Πρὸς Σαβέλλιον αὐτῷ γεγυμνασμένων. . . . Mras capitalizes the word Πρὸς and in his apparatus treats the Πρὸς Σαβέλλιον as a separate work of Dionysius known only through Eusebius. But Feltoe attributes the extract at *PE* VII.19 to a *Refutation and Defense* ("Ἐλεγχος καὶ Ἀπολογία"), fragments of which are preserved by Athanasius and which Feltoe also identifies with the four books Dionysius addressed to Dionysius of Rome (listed at *HE* VI.26.1). The work cited at *PE* VII.19 does, according to Eusebius, come from the first book of Dionysius' "exercises", to use Gifford's translation, against Sabellius, a rather vague title that could certainly be a shorthand reference to the first of Dionysius' four books sent to Dionysius of Rome.<sup>89</sup> Dionysius did, however, write other letters not described by Eusebius, so it is possible that, if the Πρὸς Σαβέλλιον was a letter, Eusebius did not explicitly name it in the *HE*.<sup>90</sup>

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letter (VII.11.6–11), a scene of interrogation before the provincial authority, was inserted later by Eusebius, but his evidence for this hypothesis is not strong.

<sup>88</sup> This is the suggestion of H. J. Lawlor, *Eusebiana*, pp. 164–165.

<sup>89</sup> K. Mras, *Die PE*, I.401; C. L. Feltoe, *Διονυσίου Λείψανα: the Letters and Other Remains of Dionysius of Alexandria* (Cambridge, 1904), pp. 167–168, with the text of *PE* VII.19 printed as part of the *Refutation and Defense* on pp. 182–185. G. Schroeder, SC #215 (Paris, 1975), pp. 109 and 264–265 with notes 2–4, observes that J. Marcoux, *Les fragments de la Réfutation et Apologie de Denys d'Alexandrie* (Paris, 1967), pp. 136–146, supports Feltoe's attribution, but Schroeder himself suggests that the extract at *PE* VII.19 could come from one of Dionysius' various letters against Sabellius referred to at *HE* VII.6 and 26.1.

<sup>90</sup> *HE* VII.26.2 begins: καὶ πλείους δὲ παρὰ ταύτας εἰσὶν αὐτοῦ παρ' ἡμῖν ἐπιστολαὶ . . . ("and there are in addition to these many letters of his in our possession").

Perhaps one of the letters in Eusebius' possession but not discussed by him in the *HE* is that sent by Dionysius to Theotecnus of Caesarea after Origen's death. The existence of the letter is known only through Photius' entry on Stephanus Gobarus, but, if the reference is to be trusted, such a letter must have been available in the library at Caesarea.<sup>91</sup> Like Dionysius' letter to Origen on martyrdom, to which Eusebius refers at *HE* VI.46.2, this letter may well have been collected in Origen's correspondence.

Dionysius also wrote longer works in the form of letters, and at *HE* VII.26.2 Eusebius names several of these works. Eusebius lists a work addressed to Timothy *On Nature*, which must have occupied more than one book. Excerpts are taken from this same work at *PE* XIV.23–27 for its criticisms of Epicureanism. Eusebius then names a book *On Temptations* addressed to Euphranor. At *HE* VII.26.3 Eusebius returns to Dionysius' letters, naming one addressed to Basilides, bishop of Pentapolis, in which Dionysius claims to have written an exegesis of the beginning of Ecclesiastes, and generically recording the existence of various other letters to Basilides.<sup>92</sup> A complete record of Dionysius' letters would also include Dionysius' letter to the synod of Antioch that sat in judgment of Paul of Samosata in 268 (cf. *HE* VII.27.2), but this letter was contained in a separate dossier of the synod's *acta* and not in any collection of Dionysius' correspondence (cf. *HE* VII.30.3).

A last work that is not included in any of the catalogues of Dionysius' letters is the *Περὶ ἐπαγγελιῶν* (*On Promises*) in two books and directed against millenarianism. Eusebius quotes from the second book of this work at *HE* III.28.4–5 and from the beginning of

<sup>91</sup> Photius, *cod.* 232 (V.79 Henry).

<sup>92</sup> *HE* VII.26.2: . . . καὶ δὴ καὶ πολυεπεῖς λόγοι ἐν ἐπιστολῇς χαρακτῆρι γραφέντες, ὡς οἱ περὶ φύσεως, Τιμοθέῳ τῷ παιδὶ προσπεφωνημένοι, καὶ ὁ περὶ πειρασμῶν, ὃν καὶ αὐτὸν Εὐφράνορι ἀνατέθεικεν. [3] ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ Βασιλεῖδῃ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Πεντάπολιν παροικιῶν ἐπισκόπῳ γράφων, φησὶν ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὸν ἀρχὴν ἐξήγησιν πεποιθῆσθαι τοῦ Ἐκκλησιαστοῦ, διαφόρους δ' ἡμῖν [τε] καὶ πρὸς τοῦτον καταλέλοιπεν ἐπιστολάς. ("And we have many letters of his besides these, and moreover lengthy books written in epistolary form, such as those on Nature, addressed to Timothy his boy, and that on temptations which also he dedicated to Euphranor. In addition to these, in writing also to Basilides, bishop of the communities in the Pentapolis, he says that he himself had written an exposition of the beginning of Ecclesiastes; and he has left behind for our benefit various other letters addressed to this person" [trans. Oulton].)

the work at *HE* VII.24.4–5, with other extracts, probably also from the first book, at VII.24.6–9 and VII.25.<sup>93</sup>

Eusebius thus possessed a very full collection of the works of Dionysius of Alexandria, particularly of his letters. It is, of course, difficult to know how so many of Dionysius' works reached Caesarea. While Andresen has suggested that Eusebius himself engaged in research at the episcopal archive at Alexandria and brought back to Caesarea such collections as those of the Novatianist and Baptismal letters, Nautin's more cautious observation that Dionysius' letters could have circulated after his death (ca. 265) seems more sensible.<sup>94</sup> It may be worth recalling that the library at Caesarea had earlier connections with Alexandria than Eusebius', for Pamphilus had studied there under Pierius. All of these men, Dionysius of Alexandria, Pierius, and Pamphilus, belonged, to varying degrees, to the Origenist theological school,<sup>95</sup> and it may be more plausible to think that Pamphilus acquired the works of Dionysius of Alexandria.

*Appendix: the Rescript of Gallienus* Eusebius treats the persecution of Valerian at *HE* VII.10–12, relying primarily on the testimony of Dionysius of Alexandria. At *HE* VII.13 Eusebius records the death of Valerian and the change of policy toward Christians that resulted from the accession of Gallienus. According to Eusebius, immediately upon his accession Gallienus issued edicts (διὰ προγραμμάτων) to halt the persecution and sent a rescript (δι' ἀντιγραφῆς) to bishops.<sup>96</sup> A copy of this rescript is then produced. This letter was sent by Gallienus to the bishops Dionysius, Pinnas, and Demetrius and concerns the restoration of Christian places of worship. It is widely accepted that

<sup>93</sup> *HE* III.28.3: Διονύσιος . . . ἐν δευτέρῳ τῶν Ἐπαγγελιῶν . . . *HE* VII.24.1: τὰ Περὶ ἐπαγγελιῶν δύο συγγράμματα . . . *HE* VII.24.3: κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν μνημονεύσας . . .

<sup>94</sup> P. Nautin, *Lettres et écritains*, p. 165; C. Andresen, *ANRW* II.23.1 (1979), pp. 413–414. Andresen conjectures (pp. 407–408) that Eusebius was able to perform this research during his flight to Egypt in the Great Persecution (ca. 311–313) and before the first edition of the *HE* (which Andresen puts in 312–313, though Burgess's chronology, followed in this study, makes 313–314 preferable).

<sup>95</sup> Pamphilus was, of course, a great defender of Origen, while Pierius was called the "Young Origen" (see below on him). Dionysius' Origenism has been challenged by W. A. Bienert, *Dionysius von Alexandrien: zur Frage des Origenismus im dritten Jahrhundert*, PTS 21 (Berlin, 1978); but see the discussion of T. Vivian, *St. Peter of Alexandria, Bishop and Martyr* (Philadelphia, 1988), pp. 110–126.

<sup>96</sup> F. Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World (31 BC–AD 337)* (Ithaca, NY, 1977), p. 571, argues that the rescript was a *subscriptio*, a reply to a simple petition (*libellus*), and not an *epistula*, which would have been issued in response to a formal delegation.



the Dionysius named is the bishop of Alexandria, the other two bishops likewise coming from Egypt.<sup>97</sup> Andresen, again, proposes that Eusebius found this rescript in the eiscopal archive of Alexandria.<sup>98</sup> But it may be more likely that Eusebius found the rescript among those of Dionysius' works in his possession. The rescript was probably included in or attached as an appendix to Dionysius' letter to Hermammon, the last letter in Eusebius' list of Dionysius' Festal Letters (*HE* VII.22.12). Eusebius earlier (*HE* VII.10) quoted from this letter to describe how Valerian turned from tolerance to persecution of Christians, and later, in his list of Dionysius' Festal Letters (*HE* VII.22.12), Eusebius indicates that this letter made mention of the peace under Gallienus.<sup>99</sup> After quoting Gallienus' rescript, Eusebius adds that another order "is extant" (φέρεται), this one to other bishops and concerning the restoration of cemeteries.<sup>100</sup> This rescript was presumably appended to the other rescript in Dionysius' letter to Hermammon.

*Gaius of Rome* Among the prominent churchmen of the early third century, Eusebius names a certain Gaius, whose dialogue with the Montanist Proclus ἦλθεν δὲ εἰς ἡμᾶς, "has come down to us," that is, has come into Eusebius' possession (*HE* VI.20.3).<sup>101</sup> There are three quotations from this dialogue: *HE* II.25.7; III.28.2; and III.31.4.

<sup>97</sup> W. H. C. Frend, "Which Dionysius? (Eusebius, *HE*, VII, 13)," *Latomus* 36 (1977), pp. 164–167.

<sup>98</sup> C. Andresen, *ANRW* II.23.1 (1979), p. 414.

<sup>99</sup> *HE* VII.22.12: Ἐρμάμμαωνι δὲ πάλιν καὶ τοῖς κατ' Αἴγυπτον ἀδελφοῖς δι' ἐπιστολῆς ὁμιλῶν . . . τῆς κατὰ τὸν Γαλλιῆνον εἰρήνης ἐπιμνηνίσκεται ("Addressing a letter to Hermammon again and the brethren in Egypt . . . he mentions the peace under Gallienus"). Although most dates of Dionysius' letters are not secure, this letter was written between 261 and 262: see W. A. Bienert, *Dionysius von Alexandria zur Frage des Origenismus*, p. 156. At *HE* VII.13 Eusebius records that Gallienus' rescript was translated from Latin. Eusebius does not state that he translated the rescript himself (as he did Hadrian's rescript: *HE* IV.8.8). He may have found the rescript already rendered into Greek but with a note that it had originally been written in Latin.

<sup>100</sup> *HE* VII.13: καὶ ἄλλη δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ διάταξις φέρεται, ἣν πρὸς ἑτέρους ἐπισκόπους πεποίηται . . . ("another command of his is extant that he addressed to the other bishops").

<sup>101</sup> *HE* VI.20.3: ἦλθεν δὲ εἰς ἡμᾶς καὶ Γαῖον, λογιωτάτου ἀνδρός, διάλογος ἐπὶ Ῥώμῃς κατὰ Ζεφυρίνον πρὸς Πρόκλον τῆς κατὰ Φρύγας αἰρέσεως ὑπερμαχοῦντα κεκνημένος . . . ("There has also come down to us a dialogue set in motion at Rome in the time of Zephyrinus by Gaius, a most learned man, with Proclus, champion of the Phrygian heresy. . .")



Eusebius' language in the introductions to these three quotations further demonstrates that he possessed a copy of this same work, since Eusebius uses similar language to describe the work, twice naming Proclus and twice calling it an "investigation," and once he also describes it as "extant" (ἐν τῇ φερομένῃ αὐτοῦ ζητήσῃ).<sup>102</sup> Some scholars have suggested that Eusebius found Gaius' work in the library of Jerusalem, which Eusebius praises at *HE* VI.20.1 for preserving the letters of the prominent churchmen of the early third century (contemporaries of Alexander of Jerusalem), but Gaius' dialogue can hardly have been considered a letter.<sup>103</sup> However that may be, Eusebius certainly made a copy of the dialogue for the library at Caesarea, for the dialogue is evidently in Eusebius' possession.

*Heracleon* A Gnostic named Heracleon seems to have written a commentary on the Gospel of John that Origen used throughout his own *Commentary on John*. Because he cites Heracleon in both the portions of his commentary that were composed at Alexandria and in later books that were composed at Caesarea, it is likely that Origen brought Heracleon's work with him to Caesarea.<sup>104</sup>

*Hermas* Discussion of the authentic writings of SS. Peter and Paul leads Eusebius at *HE* III.3.6 to Hermas' book, *The Shepherd*, τὸ τοῦ Ποιμένος βιβλίον, which is accepted as canonical by some and rejected by others.<sup>105</sup> Eusebius explains that *The Shepherd* has been proclaimed

<sup>102</sup> *HE* II.25.6: . . . οὐδὲν δὲ ἥττον καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικὸς ἀνὴρ, Γάιος ὄνομα, κατὰ Ζεφυρίνον Ῥωμαίων γεγωνὸς ἐπίσκοπον· ὃς δὴ Πρόκλῳ τῆς κατὰ Φρύγας προισταμένης γνώμης ἐγγράφως διαλεχθεὶς . . . φησὶν ("and in no less a degree, too, the churchman named Gaius, who lived when Zephyrinus was bishop of the Romans; he says in the discussions written down that he had with Proclus, the leader of the Phrygian heresy . . .").

*HE* III.28.1: Γάιος, οὗ φωνὰς ἤδη πρότερον παρατέθειμαι, ἐν τῇ φερομένῃ αὐτοῦ ζητήσῃ ταῦτα περὶ αὐτοῦ . . . φησὶν [Cerinthus] γράφει. ("Gaius, whose words I have already quoted earlier, writes these things about him [Cerinthus] in his extant investigation.")

*HE* III.31.4: καὶ ἐν τῷ Γαίου δὲ, οὗ μικρῷ πρόσθεν ἐμνήσθημεν, διαλόγῳ Πρόκλος, πρὸς ὃν ἐποιεῖτο τὴν ζήτησιν . . . οὕτω φησὶν. ("And in Gaius' dialogue, which we mentioned a little before, Proclus, against whom he made his investigation . . . says thus.")

<sup>103</sup> See Lawlor and Oulton, II.207; see also Chapter II, pp. 69–72, on the library at Jerusalem.

<sup>104</sup> For example, Origen cites Heracleon at *Comm in Johan.* 2.8 and 15; 6.2, 12, 23, and 38; 10.9, and 19. Book Two of Origen's commentary was composed at Alexandria, while Books Six and Ten were composed at Caesarea: see P. Nautin, *Origène*, pp. 377–380.

<sup>105</sup> Eusebius identifies the Hermas of Romans 16:14 with the author of *The*

in churches and that some of the early Fathers used the work.<sup>106</sup> Eusebius must have known the text of *The Shepherd* to be able to identify passages from it in other churchmen's works, and in any case it was probably not difficult to obtain a copy of the work. Origen himself was one of the earlier writers who referred to *The Shepherd*.<sup>107</sup>

*Hippolytus* Twice Eusebius names a certain Hippolytus. At *HE* VI.20.1 Eusebius marks the existence of learned churchmen in the time of Caracalla. These men left behind letters that could still be found in the library established by Alexander at Jerusalem, a library, Eusebius adds, that he has used for the composition of the *HE*. At *HE* VI.20.2 Eusebius names one of these learned churchmen, Beryllus, bishop of Bostra, who has left behind letters and other works. "Likewise," continues Eusebius, "there is also Hippolytus, himself also the leader of another church somewhere."<sup>108</sup> The chapter ends at *HE* VI.20.3 with the notice of Gaius of Rome, the author of a dialogue with Proclus. This first notice of Hippolytus may be set aside temporarily so that the fuller second notice can be considered.

At *HE* VI.22 Eusebius provides a catalogue of the writings of Hippolytus, no doubt the same Hippolytus as that named at *HE* VI.20.2. This Hippolytus is traditionally identified with Hippolytus of Rome, the presbyter who accused Pope Callistus of heresy and became himself the first anti-pope. According to the traditional view,

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*Shepherd*. Lawlor and Oulton, II.81, think this identification depends upon Origen, *In Rom.* 10.31. The work is traditionally dated to the middle of the second century: see J. Quasten, *Patrology* (Utrecht, 1950), p. 92, for the date of 140–150; A. Hilhorst, "Hermas," *RAC* XIV (108–109) (1988), col. 682, for the date of 130–150. On the other hand, S. Tugwell, *The Apostolic Fathers* (London, 1989), p. 47 and note 1 on p. 63, thinks a date between 60 and 80 possible, while J. C. Wilson, *Toward a Reassessment of the Shepherd of Hermas: Its Date and Its Pneumatology* (Lewiston, NY, 1993), pp. 9–61 argues for a date between 80 and 100. *The Shepherd* is classed among the uncanonical writings (νόθοι) by Eusebius at *HE* III.25.4.

<sup>106</sup> *HE* III.3.6: ὅθεν ἤδη καὶ ἐν ἐκκλησίαις ἴσμεν αὐτὸ δεδημοσιευμένον, καὶ τῶν παλαιάτων δὲ συγγραφέων κεχρημένους τινὰς αὐτῷ κατείληφα. ("Hence, as we know, it has actually come to be read publicly in churches; and that some of the oldest writers have used it is a fact which I have received by tradition" [trans. Oulton].)

<sup>107</sup> For example, see Origen, *Hom. in Lucam* 35.3; *Comm. in Rom.* 10.31; *Philocalia*, 8.3 [*Comm. in Hoseam*]; *Hom. in Jos.* 10.1; *Hom. in Ez.* 13.3; *Comm. in Mat.* 14.2; *Hom. in Num.* 8.1; *Hom. in lib. Jesu Nave* [Jos.], 10.1. On the popularity of Hermas among the early Fathers, see H. Y. Gamble, *Books and Readers*, p. 109 and note 85: citations of Hermas appear in Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, and in P. Mich. 130 and P. Oxy 3528 (of the second and third centuries).

<sup>108</sup> *HE* VI.20.2: ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ Ἰππόλυτος, ἐτέρας που καὶ αὐτὸς προεστὼς ἐκκλησίας.

some of Hippolytus of Rome's works are inscribed on a statue that was discovered in 1551 and that is now at the entrance to the Vatican library.<sup>109</sup> This view of Hippolytus and his works has, however, been challenged, most notably by P. Nautin, who argues that some of the works commonly attributed to Hippolytus of Rome ought to be assigned instead to a certain "Josipos," and most recently by A. Brent, who conjectures the existence of several different authors of works in the Hippolytan corpus.<sup>110</sup> The scholarly dispute over the authorship of works assigned to Hippolytus of Rome must currently be said to stand unresolved. It is not, however, now necessary to investigate all of the questions that surround the Hippolytan corpus, since the present concern is to ascertain only what works Eusebius possessed that were attributed, correctly or not, to Hippolytus.

Eusebius lists seven works by Hippolytus, none of which is quoted in the *HE*. After describing the first work in the list, Eusebius states, "Of the rest of his works, these are the ones that have come down to us," τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν αὐτοῦ συγγραμμάτων τὰ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐλθόντα ἐστὶν τάδε, and at the end of the catalogue Eusebius observes, "You would find very many other works preserved also among many people," πλείστα τε ἄλλα καὶ παρὰ πολλοῖς εὗροις ἂν σφζόμενα. The implication of these statements is that, while Eusebius knows that other works by Hippolytus exist in the libraries of other men, he provides an accurate record of the Hippolytan works in his possession.<sup>111</sup>

The first work listed is τὸ Περὶ τοῦ πάσχα σύγγραμμα, which Eusebius describes as a canon of sixteen years on the date of Easter from the first year of the reign of Alexander Severus.<sup>112</sup> This work is likely a

<sup>109</sup> See M. Marcovich, ed., *Hippolytus, Refutatio omnium haeresium*, PTS 25 (Berlin, 1986), pp. 1–17; C. Scholten, "Hippolytus II (von Rom)," *RAC* XV (1991), cols. 492–551. For the statue, see M. Guarducci, "La statua di 'Sant' Ippolito,'" *Ricerche su Ippolito*, *Studia Ephemeridis "Augustinianum"* 13 (Rome, 1977), pp. 17–30.

<sup>110</sup> P. Nautin, *Hippolyte et Josipe* (Paris, 1947); Idem, *Les lettres et écrivains chrétiens des II<sup>e</sup> et III<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Paris, 1961), pp. 177–190; A. Brent, *Hippolytus and the Roman Church in the Third Century: Communities in Tension before the Emergence of a Monarch-Bishop*, *Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae* 31 (Leiden, 1995).

<sup>111</sup> There is no reason to believe, as does P. Nautin, *Lettres*, pp. 256–257, that Eusebius' statement at the end of the catalogue indicates that Eusebius simply spared himself the trouble of naming the many other works by Hippolytus in his possession. Thus Nautin's hypothesis that Jerome's record of Hippolytus' works at *De viris ill.* 61 was copied, through Eusebius' *Vita Pamphili*, from Pamphilus' catalogue of the works at the library at Caesarea ought to be rejected.

<sup>112</sup> *HE* VI.22: τότε δῆτα καὶ Ἰππόλυτος συντάττων, μετὰ πλείστων ἄλλων ὑπομνημάτων καὶ τὸ Περὶ τοῦ πάσχα πεποιήται σύγγραμμα, ἐν ᾧ τῶν χρόνων ἀναγραφὴν ἐκθέμενος

version of the table of dates inscribed on the sides of the throne of the Vatican statue: this table, like the work Eusebius describes, falls into a sixteen-year cycle beginning with the first year of Alexander Severus' reign. Eusebius supplies only titles of the remaining works: Εἰς τὴν Ἑξαήμερον (*On the Hexaemeron*); Εἰς τὰ μετὰ τὴν Ἑξαήμερον (*On the Things That Happened after the Hexaemeron* [Gen. 2ff.]); Πρὸς Μαρκίωνα (*Against Marcion*); Εἰς τὸ ᾠσμη (On the Song); Εἰς μέρη τοῦ Ἰεζεκιήλ (*On Parts of Ezekiel*); Περὶ τοῦ πάσχα (*On Pascha*); and Πρὸς ἀπάσας τὰς αἱρέσεις (*Against All Heresies*), a work that probably ought to be identified with the *Syntagma* known to Photius as one of Hippolytus' works.<sup>113</sup>

Lawlor is probably correct to explain the work *On Pascha* as the same as the Paschal Canon described by Eusebius at the beginning of the chapter. Eusebius seems to have described the Paschal Canon before listing the other Hippolytan works in his possession because the Paschal Canon provided a specific date for Hippolytus in the time of Alexander Severus, whose reign is introduced at *HE* VI.21.<sup>114</sup> The apparent reiteration of *On Pascha* later in the chapter occurs simply because Eusebius here includes the work in a full listing of Hippolytus' works. Whether or not Lawlor is also correct to propose that this catalogue represents the contents of a single papyrus roll, the introductory words τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν . . . ἐστὶν τάδε indicate a complete list of the works of Hippolytus in Eusebius' possession.

Important evidence for the view that Hippolytus wrote (and Eusebius

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καὶ τινὰ κανόνα ἑκαταετηρίδος περὶ τοῦ πάσχα προθεῖς, ἐπὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἔτος αὐτοκράτορος Ἀλεξάνδρου τοὺς χρόνους περιγράφει. ("At that very time also Hippolytus, besides very many other memoirs, composed the treatise *On the Pascha*, in which he sets forth a register of the times and puts forward a certain canon of a sixteen-years cycle for the Pascha, using the first year of the Emperor Alexander as a terminus in measuring his dates" [trans. Oulton].)

<sup>113</sup> Photius seems to refer to *Against All Heresies* at his *cod.* 121: ἦν δὲ τὸ σύνταγμα κατὰ αἱρέσεων λβ', ἀρχὴν ποιούμενον Δοσιθεανούς, καὶ μέχρι Νοητοῦ καὶ Νοητιανῶν διαλαμβάνον ("And there was the *Syntagma* against thirty-two heresies, which begins with the Dositheans and goes down to Noetus and the Noetians"). Hippolytus seems to refer to the *Syntagma* at *Refutatio omnium haeresium* (*Elenchos*), Proem. 1: ὧν [sc. heretics] καὶ πάσαι μετρίως τὰ δόγματα ἐξεθέμεθα, οὐ κατὰ λεπτόν ἐπιδείξαντες, ἀλλὰ ἀδρομερῶς ἐλέγχοντες . . . ("the dogmas of even the ancient [heretics] we exhibited fairly, not displaying them in detail but examining them in a general way"). Some scholars also identify this work with the extant *Contra Noetum*: see C. P. Bammel, "The State of Play with Regard to Hippolytus and the *Contra Noetum*," *Heythrop Journal* 31 (1990), pp. 195–199.

<sup>114</sup> H. J. Lawlor, *Eusebiana*, pp. 151–152.

possessed) two separate works *On Pascha* occurs in Jerome's catalogue of Hippolytus' works.<sup>115</sup> Jerome, however, though he includes more works in his list than does Eusebius in his, is heavily dependent on Eusebius for his information and follows him closely. Brent contends that Jerome makes a distinction between the Paschal Canon and a Scriptural commentary *On Pascha*, but Jerome does not really maintain a firm classification of Scriptural commentaries.<sup>116</sup> Although Jerome introduces the majority of Hippolytus' works as Scriptural commentaries, this classification applies only to the first works mentioned, for Jerome also includes in this list the *De resurrectione*, *Contra Marcionem*, and *Adversus omnes haereses*, as well as the *De pascha*. Jerome's listing of *De pascha*, then, may well be a reference to the same work that Eusebius reports as Περὶ τοῦ πάσχα. Finally, it may be noted that another piece of evidence used to justify the existence of two separate works *On Pascha*, a Paschal homily attributed to Hippolytus, cannot be conclusively linked to Hippolytus, much less to the *On Pascha* named by Eusebius.<sup>117</sup>

Eusebius can therefore be said to have known seven works by a churchman named Hippolytus. To question whether Eusebius possessed more than the seven works listed at *HE* VI.22 requires an

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<sup>115</sup> Jerome, *De viris ill.* 61: *Hippolytus, cuiusdam ecclesiae episcopus (nomen quippe urbis scire non potui) in ratione paschae et temporum canone scripsit et usque ad primum annum Alexandri imperatoris sedecim annorum circulum, quem Graeci ἑκκαίδεκαετηρίδα vocant, reperit, et Eusebio, qui super eodem pascha decem et novem annorum circulum, id est, ἑννεακαίδεκαετηρίδα composuit, occasionem dedit. Scripsit nonnullos in scripturas commentarios, e quibus haec repperi: In Hexaameron, In Exodum, In Canticum Canticorum, In Genesim, In Zachariam, De Psalmis, In Esaiam, De Daniele, De Apocalypsi, De Proverbiis, De Ecclesiaste, De Saul et Pythonissa, De Antichristo, De resurrectione, Contra Marcionem, De pascha, Adversus omnes haereses, et Προσομιλίαν de Laude Domini Salvatoris.* ("Hippolytus, bishop of a certain church (to be sure, I have been unable to learn the name of the city), wrote on the reckoning of Easter and the canon of dates, and he devised a cycle of sixteen years, which the Greeks call ἑκκαίδεκαετηρίδα, up to the first year of the emperor Alexander. He gave occasion to Eusebius to devise a cycle of nineteen years for the same Easter, that is, he composed an ἑννεακαίδεκαετηρίδα. He wrote several commentaries on the Scriptures, of which I have found: On the Hexaameron, On Exodus, On the Canticle of Canticles, On Genesis, On Zechariah, On the Psalms, On Isaiah, On Daniel, On the Apocalypse, On Proverbs, On Ecclesiastes, On Saul and the Pythoness, On the Antichrist, On Resurrection, Against Marcion, On Pascha, Against All Heresies, and a Homily in Praise of the Lord Our Savior.")

<sup>116</sup> A. Brent, *Hippolytus*, pp. 310–311.

<sup>117</sup> See P. Nautin, *Homélies Paschales I: une homélie inspirée du traité sur la Pâque d'Hippolyte*, SC #27 (Paris, 1950). A. Brent, *Hippolytus*, pp. 311–327, sets out the evidence for the relationship between this homily (and other homilies ordinarily ascribed to St. John Chrysostom) and Hippolytus' *On Pascha*.

examination of the first reference to Hippolytus, that at *HE* VI.20.2. There has been some scholarly controversy over Eusebius' stated ignorance of Hippolytus' see in this passage. For if it is granted that Eusebius was truly unable to learn the name of Hippolytus' see from any of the works listed at *HE* VI.22, then perhaps, some scholars suppose, Eusebius could have found the name of the see in one of Hippolytus' letters, which may have been available in the library at Jerusalem, which contained letters of the notable churchmen of this period (*HE* VI.20.1). Frickel argues that Eusebius knew Hippolytus was a bishop (προεστώς) of Rome from Hippolytus' letters, which Eusebius did in fact find in the library at Jerusalem, but that Eusebius suppressed this information because Hippolytus was schismatic.<sup>118</sup>

Simonetti, on the other hand, denies that Eusebius knew any letters by Hippolytus and maintains that Eusebius was truly ignorant of Hippolytus' see. According to Simonetti, the structure of *HE* VI.20 shows that Eusebius did not know any letters by Hippolytus. Thus, Eusebius places Hippolytus' name between that of Beryllus of Bostra, who wrote letters but also other works, and that of Gaius, who wrote a single dialogue and, apparently, no letters. The connective ὡσαύτως may indicate that Hippolytus composed only works, like Gaius, and not both works and letters, like Beryllus. Moreover, Eusebius does not list any letters at *HE* VI.22, and Eusebius can hardly be accused of suppressing the existence of such letters out of fear of revealing the schism at Rome, since Beryllus himself can be considered a schismatic bishop (cf. *HE* VI.33).<sup>119</sup>

Responding to Simonetti, Brent argues that, because Eusebius never returns to discuss the letters of Beryllus of Bostra after *HE* VI.20.2 (the ἔγγραφα of *HE* VI.33.3, claims Brent, indicates the traditions of the Church and not any kind of letters), one cannot deny the existence of Hippolytus' letters without denying the existence of Beryllus' letters.<sup>120</sup> Although he believes that Eusebius omitted discussion

<sup>118</sup> J. Frickel, *Das Dunkel um Hippolyt von Rom, ein Lösungsversuch: die Schriften Elenchos und Contra Noëtum*, Grazer Theologische Studien 13 (Graz, 1988), pp. 3–9. Frickel moderates his position slightly in "Ippolito di Roma, scrittore e martire," *Nuove ricerche su Ippolito*, Studia Ephemeridis "Augustinianum" 30 (Rome, 1989), pp. 24–25, for here he contends that Eusebius probably could have learned the name of Hippolytus' see from his manuscripts of Hippolytus' works, if not from his letters.

<sup>119</sup> M. Simonetti, "Aggiornamento su Ippolito," *Nuove ricerche su Ippolito*, Studia Ephemeridis "Augustinianum" 30 (Rome, 1989), pp. 76–79.

<sup>120</sup> A. Brent, *Hippolytus*, pp. 391–397. Cf. p. 393: "We cannot therefore deny the

of Hippolytus' letters out of confusion, rather than out of a desire to hide the Roman schism, Brent supports Frickel's view that Eusebius knew letters by Hippolytus, since he believes the word *ὁσαύτως* connects Hippolytus to Beryllus and indicates that Hippolytus, like Beryllus, composed letters.

The essential question is: did Eusebius possess any of Hippolytus' letters? Simonetti is probably correct to answer this question in the negative. At the beginning of *HE* VI.20, Eusebius introduces the learned churchmen of the early third century, men who have left letters behind for Eusebius to find in Alexander's library at Jerusalem. It is an illustration of Eusebius' desultory style that he names Beryllus of Bostra as one of these churchmen who wrote letters (as well as other works) but then passes on to Hippolytus and Gaius, men who did not necessarily compose letters but who certainly flourished in the early third century. Hippolytus may even have been added to this chapter as an afterthought, for Eusebius knows to reserve the full catalogue of Hippolytus' works for *HE* VI.22, within the reign of Alexander Severus, which is introduced at *HE* VI.21.

Brent sets up a dilemma whereby the denial of the existence of Hippolytus' letters entails the denial of the existence of Beryllus' letters simply because Eusebius does not discuss the letters and works of Beryllus elsewhere, as he does the works of Hippolytus. But Eusebius seems to have intended the brief notice of Beryllus of Bostra at *HE* VI.20.2 to suffice as the catalogue of Beryllus' works. Eusebius did not discuss Beryllus' letters elsewhere, then, precisely because he recorded their existence, as well as the existence of Beryllus' various other works, at *HE* VI.20.2.<sup>121</sup> The report of Beryllus' discussion with Origen at *HE* VI.33, the only other reference to Beryllus, would be an awkward place to discuss Beryllus' letters and "beautiful" works because the emphasis in this chapter lies on Origen's successful handling of Beryllus' heterodoxy. There ought to be no expectation of

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absence [sic; existence?] of letters of Hippolytus because these are not mentioned further by Eusebius in his text, since then we would have to deny the existence of Beryllus' letters too."

<sup>121</sup> It may seem curious that Eusebius does not describe these works at all. But, at least in the case of Beryllus' letters, there is some precedence for foregoing description, since Eusebius reports the existence of "other letters" by Serapion of Antioch at *HE* VI.12, although here Eusebius has already named and quoted from another of Serapion's letters.



more discussion of Beryllus' works because the existence of his own compositions has already been recorded.<sup>122</sup>

While it is true that Eusebius sometimes omits works from his catalogues,<sup>123</sup> it is important to look at the evidence beyond the catalogue of Hippolytus' work at *HE* VI.22. Simonetti's explanation of *HE* VI.20.2 and the explanation of the whole of *HE* VI.20 presented here demonstrate that Eusebius found letters by Beryllus of Bostra in the library at Jerusalem but not letters of Hippolytus.

*Ignatius of Antioch* At *HE* III.36.1–2 Eusebius marks Polycarp of Smyrna, Papias of Hierapolis, and Ignatius of Antioch as distinguished churchmen of Trajan's reign. The remainder of the chapter is devoted to Ignatius of Antioch. Eusebius reports the story of Ignatius' journey through Asia to Rome, where Ignatius was to be killed by wild animals, a story (λόγος ἔχει) that Eusebius clearly knows from Ignatius' own letters. These letters are listed at *HE* III.36.5–6 and 10.<sup>124</sup> From Smyrna, Ignatius wrote a letter to the church at Ephesus, a letter to the church at Magnesia on the Meander, and a letter to the church at Tralles (36.5), as well as a letter to the church of the Romans (36.6). Eusebius then adds a colorful quotation from Ignatius' epistle *ad Romanos* illustrating Ignatius' zeal for martyrdom (36.7–9). From Troas, Ignatius wrote a letter to the church at Philadelphia, a letter to the church at Smyrna, and a separate letter to Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna (36.10). Eusebius adds a short quotation from Ignatius' epistle *ad Smyrnaeos* about Ignatius' use of some unfamiliar words Christ reportedly said to Peter (36.11).

Eusebius therefore knew the seven acknowledged letters of Ignatius

<sup>122</sup> Brent, *Hippolytus*, pp. 392–393, makes much of the fact that ἔγγραφα “never refers specifically to a letter.” But, P. Nautin, *Lettres*, pp. 210–211, shows that, because the text of *HE* VI.33.1–2 is devoted to the synod of Bostra, ἔγγραφα probably refers to the *acta* of the synod, including the discussion Beryllus had with the assembled bishops before Origen interrogated Beryllus and the two reached theological agreement. The thrust of this chapter, VI.33, then, is Origen's theological dispute with Beryllus, not the cataloguing of Beryllus' literary achievements, which is handled at VI.20.2.

<sup>123</sup> For example, in the case of Philo of Alexandria (Chapter VI).

<sup>124</sup> *HE* III.36.5: οὕτω δὴ τὰ ἐν Σμύρνῃ γινόμενος, ἔνθα ὁ Πολύκαρπος ἦν, μίαν μὲν τῇ κατὰ τὴν Ἑφεσον ἐπιστολὴν ἐκκλησίᾳ γράφει . . . ἑτέραν δὲ τῇ ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ τῇ πρὸς Μαϊάνδρῳ . . . καὶ τῇ ἐν Τράλλεσι δὲ ἄλλῃν . . . [6] πρὸς ταύταις καὶ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίᾳ γράφει . . . *HE* III.36.10: ἀπὸ Τρωάδος τοῖς τε ἐν Φιλαδελφίᾳ αὐθις διὰ γραφῆς ὁμιλεῖ καὶ τῇ Συμυρναίων ἐκκλησίᾳ ἰδίως τε τῷ ταύτης προηγούμενῳ Πολυκάρπῳ.



of Antioch.<sup>125</sup> This collection ultimately descends from that put together by Polycarp of Smyrna at the request of the church at Philippi (*Ep. ad Philip.* 13.1), and the collection thus also included Polycarp's introductory letter to the Philippians.<sup>126</sup> Accordingly, Eusebius provides evidence that he possessed Polycarp's epistle to the Philippians. The letter is twice briefly quoted at *HE* III.36.13–15, including the important passage of *Ep. ad Philip.* 13.1. Moreover, when introducing his first quotation of the letter at *HE* III.36.13, Eusebius describes the letter as being “extant,” and later, at *HE* IV.14.9, when discussing Polycarp's own career, Eusebius speaks of the letter as “extant to this day.”<sup>127</sup> In both passages Eusebius' descriptions refer to the availability of Polycarp's letter, which must have been affixed to a collection of the seven epistles written by Ignatius of Antioch, at the library at Caesarea.

Although the collection of Ignatius' letters circulated widely among Christians and it would probably not have been difficult for Eusebius to obtain a copy of the letters, the fact that Origen knew and used Ignatius' letters invites the conjecture that Origen brought the collection to Caesarea.<sup>128</sup> Origen quotes very briefly from *ad Romanos* 3

<sup>125</sup> The authenticity of the seven letters of Ignatius of Antioch was repeatedly challenged in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but more recently the letters have received general acceptance. For a review of the scholarly debate, see W. R. Schoedel, “Polycarp of Smyrna and Ignatius of Antioch,” *ANRW* II.27.1 (1993), pp. 285–292. Nevertheless, for another challenge to the letters' authenticity, see R. Hübner, “Thesen zur Echtheit und Datierung der sieben Briefe des Ignatius von Antiochien,” *ΖΑΚ* 1 (1) (1997), pp. 44–72. Responses have come in the same journal: A. Lindemann, “Antwort auf die ‘Thesen . . .’,” *ΖΑΚ* 1 (2) (1997), pp. 185–194; G. Schöllgen, “Die Ignatien als pseudepigraphisches Brief-corpus. Anmerkung zu den Thesen von Reinhard M. Hübner,” *ΖΑΚ* 2 (1) (1998), pp. 16–25; M. J. Edwards, “Ignatius and the Second Century: an Answer to R. Hübner,” *ΖΑΚ* 2 (2) (1998), pp. 214–226.

<sup>126</sup> See H. Y. Gamble, *Books and Readers*, pp. 109–112.

<sup>127</sup> *HE* III.36.13: καὶ ὁ Πολύκαρπος δὲ τούτων αὐτῶν μέμνηται ἐν τῇ φερομένῃ αὐτοῦ πρὸς Φιλιππησίους ἐπιστολῇ, φάσκων αὐτοῖς ῥήμασιν. (“Polycarp also mentions these same things in his extant letter to the Philippians, speaking in these very words.”) *HE* IV.14.9: ὁ γὰρ τοι Πολύκαρπος ἐν τῇ δηλωθείσῃ πρὸς Φιλιππησίους αὐτοῦ γραφῇ, φερομένῃ εἰς δεῦρο, κέχρηται τισιν μαρτυρίαις ἀπὸ τῆς Πέτρου προτέρας ἐπιστολῆς. (“Polycarp, in his aforementioned letter to the Philippians, which is extant to this day, assuredly uses certain evidence from the first letter of Peter.”) Lawlor and Oulton, II.131, point out that Polycarp does not reveal his uses of 1 Peter as quotations. Eusebius evidently recognized these usages from his own reading of Polycarp's letter.

<sup>128</sup> J. B. Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers*, vol. II, part 1 (London, 1890) collects the many patristic references to Ignatius' letters; for Origen's references, see p. 144. Lightfoot himself drew a connection between Origen's knowledge of the letters and

at *De oratione*, 20; from *ad Ephesios* 19 at *Hom. in Lucam* 6; from *ad Romanos* 7 in the prologue to *In canticum canticorum*. While the last of these works was composed in Athens, the former two were written at Caesarea.<sup>129</sup>

*Irenaeus of Lyons* In addition to a reference to Irenaeus' *Adversus haereses* at *HE* II.13.5, Eusebius makes extensive use of Irenaeus' refutation of Gnostic heresies throughout *HE* III, IV, and V. Eusebius once gives the full title of the work (*HE* V.7.1): "Irenaeus . . . in the books, five in number, he entitled the *Refutation and Overthrow of Knowledge Falsely So-called*," Εἰρηναῖος . . . ἐν οἷς ἐπέγραψεν, πέντε οὖσι τὸν ἀριθμὸν, Ἐλέγχου καὶ ἀνατροπῆς τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως. At all other times, when Eusebius names the work, he uses the shortened form *Against the Heresies*, Πρὸς τὰς αἱρέσεις. It is plain that Eusebius possessed the complete work of five books and used it directly: not only does Eusebius quote from each of the five books, but he is also careful in a majority of his usages of it to explain from which book of the *Adversus haereses* he has taken his material.<sup>130</sup>

At *HE* V.20.1 Eusebius records the two letters that Irenaeus wrote against heretics at Rome, the one to Blastus, the other to Florinus: "Irenaeus composed various letters; one he entitled *To Blastus on Schism*, another *To Florinus on Monarchy, or That God is not the Maker of Evil*," Εἰρηναῖος διαφόρους ἐπιστολὰς συντάττει, τὴν μὲν ἐπιγράψας

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Eusebius' knowledge of them and suggested that the two men "quoted, if not from the same MS, at all events from MSS closely allied to each other and belonging to the same family" (p. 289).

<sup>129</sup> P. Nautin, *Origène: sa vie et son oeuvre* (Paris, 1977), p. 385, dates the *De ratione* to 234–235; pp. 406–408 for the homilies in 238–242 (although other scholars dispute this date, the homilies are ordinarily placed in Caesarea). At *HE* VI.32.2 Eusebius relates that the first five books of *In canticum canticorum* were written at Athens.

<sup>130</sup> B. Gustafsson, "Eusebius' Principles in Handling His Sources, as Found in His Church History, Books I–VII," *Studia Patristica* 4 (1961), pp. 431–432, overemphasizes the significance of Eusebius' practice of citing the individual books from which he drew quotations. Gustafsson claims that Eusebius produces more than twenty quotations of the *Adversus haereses* and only twice fails to name the book he cites, but Gustafsson does not indicate which two quotations are meant. In fact, Eusebius does not cite the book of *Adversus haereses* at *HE* III.36.12; III.39.1; V.8.7–8; and V.8.10 and 11–15; while at *HE* V.7.6, in turning from *Adv. haer.* II to *Adv. haer.* V, Eusebius only vaguely states that his next quotation comes from "another place" in *Adversus haereses*. Furthermore, Gustafsson only considers direct quotations of *Adversus haereses*, but Eusebius also makes several references to Irenaeus' work without providing quotations, and in some of these instances Eusebius cites no book.

πρὸς Βλάστον περὶ σχίσματος, τὴν δὲ Πρὸς Φλωρίνον περὶ μοναρχίας ἢ περὶ τοῦ μὴ εἶναι τὸν θεὸν ποιητὴν κακῶν. Eusebius adds that Irenaeus addressed a further treatise to Florinus τὸ Περὶ ὀγδοάδος σπούδασμα, *On the Ogdoad*, which was intended to turn his friend from Valentinian Gnosticism. Eusebius then quotes a “very clever note” found at the end of the work, an adjuration to future transcribers of the book to do their work carefully. It is evident that Eusebius possessed a copy of this treatise. He seems to have quoted the passage because he looked over the work as he composed this chapter. It is probably from a quick reading of the work that Eusebius earlier observes that Irenaeus claims in this work to have received the “first succession” of the apostles. After quoting from the end of *On the Ogdoad*, Eusebius produces a short extract from Irenaeus’ letter to Florinus. Eusebius likely also drew on this letter firsthand, and it is probably safe to assume that, even though Eusebius does not quote from the letter to Blastus, he also possessed a copy of that letter.

Eusebius completes his listing of Irenaeus’ works at *HE* V.26. The language used in this chapter confirms the preceding judgment that Eusebius possessed copies of the works named at *HE* V.20 as well as the *Adversus haereses*: πρὸς τοῖς ἀποδοθεῖσιν Εἰρηναίου συγγράμμασιν καὶ ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς φέρεται. . . . “There are extant,” states Eusebius, “in addition to the works and letters already named,” the works listed in this chapter. Eusebius thus explains that he has available to him the works recorded above, as well as “a certain work addressed to the Greeks *On Knowledge*,” τις αὐτοῦ πρὸς Ἑλληνας λόγος . . . Περὶ ἐπιστήμης (*De disciplina*, as Rufinus translates); “another that he dedicated to a brother named Marcian on the *Demonstration of the Apostolic Preaching*,” καὶ ἄλλος, ὃν ἀνατίθεικεν ἀδελφῷ Μαρκαίνῳ τοῦνομα εἰς ἐπίδειξιν τοῦ ἀποστολικοῦ κηρύγματος (*Ad Marcianum in demonstrationem apostolicae orationis*); “and a *Book of Various Dialogues*,” καὶ βιβλίον τι διαλέξεων διαφόρων (*Dialogi de diversis*, as Rufinus translates).<sup>131</sup> Eusebius concludes this catalogue of Irenaeus’ works by again emphasizing that this list includes all the works with which he is acquainted: “Such are the works of Irenaeus that have come to our knowledge,” καὶ τὰ μὲν εἰς ἡμετέραν ἐλθόντα γνῶσιν τῶν Εἰρηναίου τοσαῦτα.

<sup>131</sup> J. Quasten, *Patrology* (Utrecht, 1950), I.293, believes that this last work “of various discourses” was probably a collection of sermons. That Eusebius knows it to have references to the Epistle to the Hebrews and Wisdom of Solomon is further testimony that Eusebius knew the work firsthand.

*Judas* After beginning the sixth book of his *HE* with the persecution of Septimius Severus and the death of Origen's father, Eusebius dwells at length on Origen's early life. At *HE* VI.7 Eusebius inserts a short reference to a writer named Judas, who was responsible for "written discourses on the seventy weeks in Daniel [9:24]." <sup>132</sup> Eusebius reports that Judas traced the end of the seventy weeks to the tenth year of Severus' reign and, moreover, believed that the coming of the Antichrist was already at hand. Evidently, Eusebius was familiar with the content of Judas' work, although there is no proof that he possessed a copy of it. If, as Lawlor and Oulton suggest, Eusebius gave such a brief notice to Judas because he found Judas' apocalyptic views so unpalatable, <sup>133</sup> it may be that Eusebius could have said more about Judas, perhaps because he did in fact know Judas' work firsthand.

*Julius Africanus* At *HE* VI.31 Eusebius produces a list of the four works known to him by Julius Africanus. The first work is actually named parenthetically, for Eusebius begins the catalogue: "At this time also Africanus, the author of the books entitled *Kestoi* [*Embroideries*], was well known," ἐν τούτῳ καὶ Ἀφρικανὸς ὁ τῶν ἐπιγεγραμμένων Κεστῶν συγγραφεὺς ἐγνωρίζετο. The books of *Kestoi* are not described further, but Eusebius presumably possessed a copy of this work. <sup>134</sup>

Eusebius continues at VI.31.1: "A letter of his, written to Origen, is extant; he was at a loss as to whether the story of Susanna in the book of Daniel were a spurious forgery. Origen makes a very full reply to it." <sup>135</sup> By the word φέρεται Eusebius indicates his possession of this letter to Origen on the authenticity of the story of Susanna in Daniel. Origen's reply may have been attached to Africanus' letter,

<sup>132</sup> *HE* VI.7: ἐν τούτῳ καὶ Ἰούδας, συγγραφέων ἕτερος, εἰς τὰς παρὰ τῷ Δανιὴλ ἑβδομήκοντα ἑβδομάδας ἐγγράφως διαλεχθεὶς. . . .

<sup>133</sup> Lawlor and Oulton, II.194.

<sup>134</sup> Lawlor and Oulton, II.207, refer to P. Oxy. III.412 for evidence that a library at Jerusalem possessed a copy of the *Kestoi*, a fact that may be true if the *Kestoi* (or at least the eighteenth book) was addressed to a resident of Jerusalem (cf. line 56 of the papyrus, with note). But the fragment itself demonstrates that a MS of Homer's *Odyssey* with variant readings could be found at Jerusalem, as at Caria and Rome. On the library at Jerusalem, see above in the second chapter, pp. 69–72.

<sup>135</sup> *HE* VI.31.1: ἐπιστολὴ τοῦτου Ὀριγῆνι γραφεῖσα φέρεται, ἀπορῶντος ὡς νόθου καὶ πεπλασμένης οὔσης τῆς ἐν τῷ Δανιὴλ κατὰ Σουσάνναν ἱστορίας. πρὸς ἣν Ὀριγῆνης ἀντιγράφει πληρέστατα. The translation is Oulton's.

or Eusebius could have found it in his collection of Origen's correspondence.

At VI.31.2 Eusebius praises the accuracy of Africanus' five books of *Chronographiae*.<sup>136</sup> Not only does Eusebius quote a long passage from the third book of this chronicle at *PE* X.10, but in his *Chronographia*, Eusebius also names Africanus as a principal source in the determination of the history of the Hebrews (Schoene I.71; p. 34 Karst). Africanus' *Chronographiae*, which began with the Creation and counted the years from Adam to AD 221, was primarily a source for sacred history.<sup>137</sup>

Finally, at VI.31.3 Eusebius lists a letter *To Aristides On the Supposed Disagreement between the Genealogies of Christ in Matthew and Luke*, καὶ ἑτέρα δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἀφρικανοῦ φέρεται ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς Ἀριστείδην, περὶ τῆς νομιζομένης διαφωνίας τῶν παρὰ Ματθαίω τε καὶ Λουκᾷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ γενεαλογιῶν. As he acknowledges later in this chapter, Eusebius already quoted from this letter at *HE* I.7.

*Justin Martyr* Eusebius provides a catalogue of the works of Justin Martyr at *HE* IV.18.1–6. This catalogue is a reliable survey of the works that Eusebius could find in the library of Caesarea, for, though Eusebius rather generically begins with the explanation that “this man [Justin Martyr] has left behind to us very many monuments of a cultured mind keenly interested in divine things, which are replete with profitable matter of every kind,” πλεῖστα δὲ οὗτος καταλέλοιπεν ἡμῖν πεπαιδευμένης διανοίας καὶ περὶ τὰ θεῖα ἐσπουδακίας ὑπομνήματα, πάσης ὠφελείας ἔμπλεα, he continues, “And to these we shall refer scholars, when we have performed the useful task of indicating such as have come to our knowledge,” ἐφ’ ἃ τοὺς φιλομαθεῖς ἀναπέμψομεν, τὰ εἰς ἡμετέραν γνῶσιν ἐλθόντα χρησίμως παρασημηνάμενοι (*HE* IV.18.1, trans. Oulton [slightly altered]). The catalogue,

<sup>136</sup> *HE* VI.31.2: τοῦ δ’ αὐτοῦ Ἀφρικανοῦ καὶ ἄλλα τὸν ἀριθμὸν πέντε Χρονογραφιῶν ἦλθεν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐπ’ ἀκριβὲς πεπονημένα σπουδάσματα. (“And of the same Africanus there have reached us as well five books of *Chronographies*, a monument of labor and accuracy” [trans. Oulton].)

<sup>137</sup> On Eusebius' relationship to Africanus, see A. A. Mosshammer, *Chronicle*, pp. 133–157, and B. Croke, “The Originality of Eusebius' *Chronicle*,” *AJP* 103 (1982), pp. 195–200. Eusebius also cites Africanus in the section on Hebrew history at Schoene I.97–101; pp. 47–48 Karst and Schoene I.129; p. 61 Karst. In the *Chronici canones* Eusebius cites Africanus at p. 113a Helm and p. 86k Helm. It is evident from these last two entries that Africanus noted synchronisms between important events in sacred history and events in secular history.

which reflects what has come to Eusebius' direct knowledge, deserves further analysis.

At 18.2 Eusebius lists two works, one "on behalf of our doctrines," the other "containing a second apology on behalf of our faith": ὁ μὲν ἐστὶν αὐτῷ λόγος . . . ὑπὲρ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς δογμάτων, ὁ δὲ δευτέραν περιέχων ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμετέρας πίστεως ἀπολογία. . . . These two works are the extant *First Apology* and *Second Apology*.<sup>138</sup> Eusebius quotes from the *First Apology* nine times and from the *Second Apology* three times, a total of approximately one fourteenth of the two works. As is evident from the catalogue, Eusebius possessed two separate apologies, and Eusebius' other references to these works seem to bear out this interpretation. (It is true, however, that the *Second Apology* seems to presuppose the *First*, and it is probably correct to consider the *Second* an appendix to the *First Apology*.)<sup>139</sup>

At 18.3–4 Eusebius lists three works: one called *Against* [or *To*] *the Greeks*, Πρὸς Ἑλληνας, one likewise addressed to the Greeks but called *Elenchus* (or *Refutation*), Ἑλεγχος, and one called *On the Monarchy of God*, Περὶ θεοῦ μοναρχίας.<sup>140</sup> These three works carry titles that are

<sup>138</sup> Eusebius reports here that the *First Apology* was addressed to Antoninus Pius, his sons, and the Roman Senate, while the *Second Apology* was addressed to Antoninus Verus (that is, Marcus Aurelius). Both apologies were, rather, probably addressed to Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius. See M. Marcovich, ed., *Iustini Martyris, Apologiae pro Christianis*, PTS 38 (Berlin, 1994), pp. 2–3.

<sup>139</sup> On Eusebius' knowledge of two apologies and the relationship between these apologies, including Eusebius' sometimes mistaken references to the works, see M. Marcovich, ed., *Iustini Martyris*, pp. 1–11. A. Harnack, *Die Überlieferung der griechischen Apologeten*, TU 1 (Leipzig, 1882; reprinted Berlin, 1991), pp. 135–136, note 87, computes the amount of Justin quoted by Eusebius. Harnack himself (p. 145) calls the *Second Apology* a supplement. A. Wartelle, ed., *Saint Justin, Apologies* (Paris, 1987), pp. 21–22 and 30, calls it an appendix. Other scholars believe that the two apologies were originally one: see, for example, E. Schwartz, *Die Kirchengeschichte*, III.clv–clvii, who, as a consequence of his scepticism about the existence of the *Second Apology*, needlessly doubts the truth of Eusebius' statement at the beginning of the chapter that he would give a list of Justin's works known to him. Another recent editor takes the view that there was originally only a single apology: C. Munier, ed., *L'Apologie de Saint Justin, philosophe et martyr*, Paradosis 38 (Fribourg, 1994).

<sup>140</sup> HE IV.18.3: καὶ ἄλλος ὁ πρὸς Ἑλληνας, ἐν ᾧ μακρὸν περὶ πλείστων παρ' ἡμῖν τε καὶ τοῖς Ἑλλήνων φιλοσόφοις ζητούμενων κατατείνας λόγον, περὶ τῆς τῶν δαιμόνων διαλαμβάνει φύσεως, ἃ οὐδὲν ἂν εἰπεῖγοι τὰ νῦν παρατίθεσθαι. καὶ αὐθις ἕτερον πρὸς Ἑλληνας εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐλήλυθεν αὐτοῦ σύγγραμμα, ὃ καὶ ἐπέγραψεν Ἑλεγχον, καὶ παρὰ τούτου ἄλλο περὶ θεοῦ μοναρχίας, ἣν οὐ μόνον ἐκ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν γραφῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν συνίστησιν βιβλίων. ("And there is another, the book *Against the Greeks*, in which, having discussed at great length very many of the questions investigated by us and the philosophers of the Greeks, he treats distinctly of the nature of demons. These things there is not urgent necessity to quote at present. And, again,

similar to those of works falsely transmitted in the manuscript tradition under the name of Justin, the *Oratio ad Graecos*, *Cohortatio ad Graecos*, and *De monarchia*, and there is still controversy over the relationship between these works of Ps-Justin and the works known to Eusebius.<sup>141</sup> The Πρὸς Ἑλλήνας is sometimes identified with the *Oratio ad Graecos*, but little in Eusebius' description of the work ties it to the extant *Oratio*, and certainly the *Oratio* is not μακρὸς, as the Πρὸς Ἑλλήνας is.<sup>142</sup> The Ἐλεγχος is sometimes identified with the *Cohortatio ad Graecos*, but, since Eusebius gives no other description of the Ἐλεγχος than its title, it is difficult to establish a connection with the *Cohortatio*. If C. Riedweg is correct to identify Marcellus of Ancyra as the author of the *Cohortatio*, however, then the question no longer need be disputed.<sup>143</sup> Like the Πρὸς Ἑλλήνας, the Ἐλεγχος must have been a genuine work by Justin that was available to Eusebius at Caesarea but that is now lost. Similarly, Eusebius' Περὶ θεοῦ μοναρχίας probably ought not to be identified with Ps-Justin's *De monarchia*.<sup>144</sup> Eusebius knew a work that utilized both Scripture and Greek writings, but the extant *De monarchia* makes no use of Scripture. Thus Eusebius knew a third lost work by Justin, the Περὶ θεοῦ μοναρχίας.

At 18.5 Eusebius lists two works by Justin that are now lost, the *Psaltes* (*Harpist*) and a school-treatise on the soul.<sup>145</sup> At 18.6 Eusebius

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another treatise of his against the Greeks has come down to us; and this he entitled Refutation. And besides these there is another treatise On the Monarchy of God, which fact he establishes not only from our Scriptures but also from the Greek books" [trans. Oulton].)

<sup>141</sup> For a recent analysis of the relationship between the extant works of Ps-Justin and the works listed by Eusebius, see C. Riedweg, *Ps.-Justin (Markell von Ankyra?) Ad Graecos de vera religione* (bisher "*Cohortatio ad Graecos*"), Schweizerische Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft 25.1 (Basel, 1994), pp. 54–61.

<sup>142</sup> C. Riedweg, *Ps.-Justin*, p. 56, note 194, cites previous scholars who have identified the *Oratio ad Graecos* with the Πρὸς Ἑλλήνας. Riedweg (p. 56) also rejects the idea that the Πρὸς Ἑλλήνας ought to be identified with the *Cohortatio ad Graecos*.

<sup>143</sup> See C. Riedweg, *Ps.-Justin*. In note 60 on p. 210 Riedweg names other scholars who have identified the Ἐλεγχος with the *Cohortatio*, including A. Harnack, *Geschichte der altchr. Lit.* (Leipzig, 1904), II.2, p. 152, and M. Marcovich, ed., *Pseudo-Iustinus, Cohortatio ad Graecos, De Monarchia, Oratio ad Graecos*, PTS 32 (Berlin, 1990), p. 3 and note 9.

<sup>144</sup> Such is the opinion of A. Harnack, *Die Überlieferung der griechischen Apologeten*, pp. 154–155, and of C. Riedweg, *Ps.-Justin*, p. 55. On the other hand, M. Marcovich, ed., *Pseudo-Iustinus*, pp. 81–82, believes that Eusebius noticed Scriptural allusions in the extant *De monarchia* and that his description of the work thus matches the extant text.

<sup>145</sup> HE IV.18.5: ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐπιγεγραμμένον Ψάλτης καὶ ἄλλο σχολικὸν Περὶ ψυχῆς. . .



lists the eighth and final work in his possession, Justin's *Dialogue with Trypho*.<sup>146</sup> One quotation is produced from this work after its mention in the catalogue (18.7). Eusebius, it may be added, names another work at *HE* IV.11.8, a work against Marcion (κατὰ Μαρκίωνος σύγγραμμα), but Eusebius did not include this work in his catalogue of Justin's writings and so probably did not possess it. Rather, he learned of it from Irenaeus, who is quoted at *HE* IV.18.9 (of *Adv. haer.* 4.6.2).<sup>147</sup>

*Lucian of Antioch* Lucian of Antioch is now a quite shadowy figure, but Eusebius knew of his reputation as a respected presbyter at Antioch who was learned in Scripture.<sup>148</sup> It is possible that Eusebius was familiar with Lucian's biblical scholarship, perhaps through the intermediary of Dorotheus, an Antiochene presbyter who knew Hebrew and whose interpretation of Scripture Eusebius heard (*HE* VII.32.2–4).<sup>149</sup>

Eusebius takes note of Lucian's martyrdom at Nicomedia (probably in 312) twice, at *HE* VIII.13.2 and at *HE* IX.6.3. In each passage Eusebius reports that Lucian delivered an apology in defense of his faith. This apology appears in Rufinus' version of the *HE* at IX.6.3. Eusebius, however, probably did not know this text of Lucian's apology: either Rufinus excerpted the apology from an unidentified source, or Rufinus composed the apology himself for insertion into his version of the *HE*.<sup>150</sup>

<sup>146</sup> *HE* IV.18.6: καὶ διάλογον δὲ πρὸς Ἰουδαίους συντάξεν, ὃν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐφεσίων πόλεως πρὸς Τρύφωνα τῶν τότε Ἑβραίων ἐπισημότατον πεποίηται. ("And he composed a dialogue against the Jews, which he had held in the city of Ephesus with Trypho, at that time one of the most noted Hebrews.")

<sup>147</sup> This book against Marcion, if it was not an independent treatise, may have formed part of Justin's σύνταγμα κατὰ πασῶν τῶν γεγεννημένων αἱρέσεων (1 *Apol.* 26.8, quoted at *HE* IV.11.10).

<sup>148</sup> *HE* IX.6.3: Λουκιανός τε, ἀνὴρ τὰ πάντα ἄριστος βίῳ τε ἐγκρατεὶ καὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς μαθήμασιν συγκεκροτημένος, τῆς κατὰ Ἀντιόχειαν παροικίας πρεσβύτερος. . . . ("Lucian, a most excellent man in every respect, of temperate life and well versed in sacred learning, a presbyter of the community of Antioch" [trans. Oulton].) The evidence regarding Lucian is examined by G. Bardy, *Recherches sur Saint Lucien d'Antioche et son école* (Paris, 1936). See also R. P. C. Hanson, *The Search for the Christian Doctrine of God: the Arian Controversy, 318–381* (Edinburgh, 1988), pp. 79–83, on the problematic relationship between Lucian and Arius.

<sup>149</sup> A. Harnack, *Geschichte er altchr. Literatur*, II.2.138, note 3, conjectures that Dorotheus was one of Lucian's assistants in a school.

<sup>150</sup> G. Bardy, *Saint Lucien*, pp. 133–163, holds the latter view. T. Christensen,



Lawlor suggests that Eusebius knew a letter sent by Lucian from Nicomedia to Antioch. A fragment of such a letter is preserved in the *Chronicon Paschale* under the year 303 and informs the Antiochenes of the martyrdom of Anthimus, bishop of Nicomedia. According to Lawlor, Eusebius indicates his reliance on a written source at *HE* VIII.6.6, when, in describing the fire at Nicomedia, he uses the phrase λόγος ἔχει, and this source was Lucian's letter.<sup>151</sup> Even though Eusebius' use of the phrase λόγος ἔχει may not always indicate a written source, Lawlor's suggestion is certainly plausible. Moreover, if Eusebius did know a letter written by Lucian in approximately 303, this letter could have conveyed information on the outbreak of the Great Persecution at Nicomedia and the mysterious fire that occurred soon thereafter, as well as a report of Anthimus' martyrdom and other martyrdoms that occurred at Nicomedia. Thus, *HE* VIII.5 through 6.7 may be based, at least in part, on a letter sent by Lucian of Antioch from Nicomedia to Antioch.<sup>152</sup>

Scholars have suggested that Eusebius knew some other works by Lucian. Bardy considers it possible that Eusebius knew a Lucianic formula of faith that later was used as the basis of the Second (Dedication) Creed of the Council of Antioch in 341. But the connection between Lucian and the Antiochene formula is rather doubtful, and no Lucianic creed need ever have existed. Bardy himself

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*Rufinus of Aquileia and the Historia Ecclesiastica, Lib. VIII–IX, of Eusebius*, Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser 58 (Copenhagen, 1989), pp. 250–252, holds the former view, as does R. Williams, *Arius: Heresy and Tradition* (London, 1987), pp. 164–165, who suggests that the apology be identified with one of the *libelli de fide* mentioned by Jerome, *De viris ill.* 77, but who will not rule out Lucian authorship altogether. A. Harnack, *Geschichte der altchr. Lit.* (Leipzig, 1893; second edition 1958), II.529 and 556, proposes that Eusebius did know Lucian's apology because Rufinus drew it from Eusebius' *Collection of Ancient Martyrdoms*. There is no evidence of this. Bardy (p. 162), citing Bardenhewer for this same proposal, does, however, consider this scenario possible. T. D. Barnes, *CE*, note 119 on p. 333, rejects it.

<sup>151</sup> H. J. Lawlor, *Eusebiana*, pp. 268–270; cf. also Lawlor and Oulton, II.272–273. The fragment in the *Chron. Pasch.* under the year 303 is: ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς χορὸς ἅπας ὁμοῦ μαρτύρων, εὐαγγελίζομαι δὲ ὑμᾶς, ὡς Ἄνθιμος ὁ πάπας τῷ τοῦ μαρτυρίου δρόμῳ ετελειώθη ("The whole company of martyrs together greeteth you, and I tell you the good news that Pope Anthimus has been perfected in the course of martyrdom" [trans. Lawlor in Lawlor and Oulton, II.272–273]).

<sup>152</sup> Lawlor and Oulton, II.273, observe that Eusebius had acquaintances in the Antiochene clergy (*HE* VII.32.2–4). One could have sent him a copy of the letter. It should be noted that in his *Eusebiana* Lawlor doubts whether the information on the slaughters that followed Anthimus' martyrdom (*HE* VIII.6.6) is placed in its proper chronological position.

recognizes that the Council of Antioch may instead be indebted to Eusebius' own letter to the church in Caesarea.<sup>153</sup>

*Maximus, Methodius, and HE V.27–28* Eusebius concludes *PE VII* with a series of four extracts all devoted to the defense of God's creation of matter.<sup>154</sup> The last of these extracts (*PE VII.22*) Eusebius attributes to the *Περὶ τῆς ὕλης* (*De materia*) of one Maximus who is otherwise unknown, save for Eusebius' reference to him at *HE V.27*.<sup>155</sup>

The library of Caesarea must certainly have contained the works from which the other three extracts in this section of Book VII are taken, Dionysius of Alexandria's work against Sabellius (*VII.19*), Origen's *Commentarii in Genesim* (*VII.20*), and Philo's *De providentia* (*VII.21*), so one may expect that the library contained and Eusebius used firsthand Maximus' *De materia*, rather than some compilation on the subject of matter. But, there are complications. The extract at *PE VII.22* also appears in two other works: in a dialogue entitled *De recta in deum fide*, the "Adamantine dialogue," so called because the primary speaker is named Adamantius, and in Methodius of Olympus' *De autexusio* (or *De libero arbitrio*).<sup>156</sup> The relationship between the versions of Methodius and the Adamantine dialogue has been much debated, but it appears that the Adamantine dialogue made use of Methodius' work.<sup>157</sup> A comparison of Eusebius' text with the

<sup>153</sup> G. Bardy, *Saint Lucien*, pp. 122–123. R. P. C. Hanson, *Search*, pp. 279–280, casts doubt on the association of Lucian and the Council of Antioch in 341.

<sup>154</sup> On this "dossier on matter," see G. Schroeder, SC #215 (Paris, 1975), pp. 94–126, especially pp. 111–126.

<sup>155</sup> Eusebius places Maximus generally in the late second century or early third century, for he introduces the reign of Septimius Severus at *HE V.26*. Eusebius describes Maximus' work thus: τὰ Μαξιμίμου περὶ τοῦ πολυθρυλήτου παρὰ τοῖς αἵρεσιώταις ζητήματος τοῦ πόθεν ἡ κακία, καὶ περὶ τοῦ γεννητὴν ὑπάρχεν τὴν ὕλην (*HE V.27*) (translated below *infra*). Jerome's notice of Maximus at *De vir. ill.* 47 derives from Eusebius.

<sup>156</sup> Less important appearances of this extract are the fragments in the *Sacra Parallela* and the epitome in Photius, *cod.* 236. The extract at *Philocalia* 24 is drawn from Eusebius' text, although the passage is attributed to Origen under the mistaken apprehension that Origen composed the Adamantine dialogue (Adamantius was a nickname for Origen according to Eusebius, *HE VI.14.10*).

<sup>157</sup> Under the influence of T. Zahn, "Die Dialoge des 'Adamantius' mit den Gnostikern," *ZKG* 9 (1888), pp. 193–239, and J. A. Robinson, *The Philocalia of Origen* (Cambridge, 1893), pp. xl–xlix, scholars have maintained that the author of the Adamantine dialogue copied from the earlier work of Methodius. See, for example, L. G. Patterson, *Methodius of Olympus: Divine Sovereignty, Human Freedom, and Life in Christ* (Washington, DC, 1997), pp. 22–23, with note 12; R. A. Pretty, *Adamantius, Dialogue on the True Faith in God: De recta in deum fide* (Leuven, 1997), p. 12, with note

texts of Methodius and the Adamantine dialogue, furthermore, indicates that Eusebius' text is related to Methodius' text, and the most plausible reason for this is that Eusebius copied his text directly from Methodius.<sup>158</sup>

Yet, it is difficult to explain why Eusebius attributes the passage to Maximus, if he copied his text from Methodius. Robinson suggests that "Maximus" was the first interlocutor in Methodius' text and that Eusebius misunderstood this to be the name of the author, but there is no evidence in the manuscripts to support this argument.<sup>159</sup> Others suppose that Eusebius used a text that either was anonymous or was attributed to a pseudonymous "Maximus".<sup>160</sup> But in these cases there is no explanation why Eusebius should assign this Maximus to the late second or early third century in his *HE* (V.27). Barnes argues that Maximus is the author of the Adamantine dialogue, that Methodius copied from the Adamantine dialogue, and that Eusebius' scribe mistakenly inserted the text of Methodius rather than the text of Maximus.<sup>161</sup> The first of Barnes's propositions is credible, and the second is possible (though it is a view unsupported by other scholars), but the third requires the belief that Eusebius possessed Maximus' Adamantine dialogue, but his scribe (although he did not intend to draw the passage of *PE* VII.22 from Methodius) did in fact draw his excerpt from Methodius and neglected to revise the introduction that names the author as Maximus. While such a mistake is possible, it seems unlikely. What seems more likely is that Eusebius intentionally quoted the passage from Methodius and intentionally named Maximus as the author.

27. T. D. Barnes, "Methodius, Maximus, and Valentinus," *JTS* 30 (1979), pp. 47–55, however, argues the reverse, that Methodius utilized the Adamantine dialogue.

<sup>158</sup> See J. A. Robinson, *The Philocalia of Origen*, pp. xl–xli.

<sup>159</sup> J. A. Robinson, *The Philocalia of Origen*, pp. xlii–xlii. This view is criticized by A. Vaillant in his introduction to the Slavonic version of Methodius' *De autexusio*, *Patrologia Orientalis* 22.5 (Paris, 1930), p. 639. Perhaps a similar explanation may be inferred from L. G. Patterson, "Methodius on Origen in *De Creatis*," *Origeniana Quinta* (Leuven, 1992), p. 498, since Patterson, arguing that the *De creatis* was also called *Xeno*, makes analogy to Methodius' other works, *Maximus, on God and Matter* and *Aglaophon, on the Resurrection*, the personal names coming from the principal speakers in the dialogues. Patterson, *Methodius of Olympus*, pp. 38–40, notes the absence of evidence in the manuscripts for a title "Maximus" or speakers named Maximus.

<sup>160</sup> Cf. A. Vaillant, ed., *De autexusio*, p. 652; E. Junod, "Particularités de la Philocalie," *Origeniana*, H. Crouzel et al., edd., *Quaderni di "Vetera Christianorum"* 12 (Bari, 1975), pp. 184–185.

<sup>161</sup> T. D. Barnes, *JTS* (1979), p. 54.

In the text of *HE* V.27 Eusebius places in the late second and early third centuries a number of writers and their works:

πλείστα μὲν οὖν παρὰ πολλοῖς εἰς ἔτι νῦν τῶν τότε σφάζεται παλαιῶν καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐναρέτου σπουδῆς ὑπομνήματα· ὧν γε μὴν αὐτοὶ διέγνωμεν, εἴη ἂν τὰ Ἡρακλείτου εἰς τὸν ἀπόστολον, καὶ τὰ Μαξίμου περὶ τοῦ πολυθρυλήτου παρὰ τοῖς αἵρεσιώταις ζητήματος τοῦ πόθεν ἡ κακία, καὶ περὶ τοῦ γεννητῆν ὑπάρχειν τὴν ὕλην, τὰ τε Κανδίδου εἰς τὴν ἑξαήμερον, καὶ Ἀπίωνος εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσιν, ὁμοίως Σέξτου περὶ ἀναστάσεως, καὶ ἄλλη τις ὑπόθεσις Ἀραβιανοῦ, καὶ μυρίων ἄλλων, ὧν διὰ τὸ μηδεμίαν ἔχειν ἀφορμὴν οὐχ οἷόν τε οὔτε τοὺς χρόνους παραδοῦναι γραφῇ οὔθ' ἱστορίας μνήμην ὑποσμήνασθαι. καὶ ἄλλων δὲ πλείστων, ὧν οὐδὲ τὰς προσηγορίας καταλέγειν ἡμῖν δυνατόν, ἦλθον εἰς ἡμᾶς λόγοι, ὀρθοδόξων μὲν καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικῶν, ὥς γε δὴ ἡ ἐκάστου παραδείκνυσιν τῆς θείας γραφῆς ἐρμηνεία, ἀδήλων δ' ὅμως ἡμῖν, ὅτι μὴ προσηγορίαν ἐπάγεται τῶν συγγραψαμένων.

So then, large numbers of treatises, composed with virtuous diligence by the ancient churchmen of that time, are still to this day preserved by many. Among those, however, of which we have personal knowledge, are the [works] of Heracleitus on the apostle; those of Maximus on that much-discussed question among the heretics, the origin of evil and that matter had a beginning; of Candidus on the Hexaemeron; of Apion on the same subject; of Sextus, likewise, on the Resurrection; and another work, of Arabianus; as well as the works of countless others, in whose case the lack of data prevents us from recording the times in which they lived or making any mention of their history. And the works also of many others, of whom we cannot recount even the names, have reached us: orthodox churchmen, as their several interpretations of the divine Scripture show, but nevertheless unknown to us, since such do not bear the names of their authors. *HE* V.27 (trans. Oulton [slightly altered])

The first part of the passage is a catalogue of the names of the authors and their works, providing, for example, no more information about Maximus' writing than is given in the chapter-heading of *PE* VII.22.<sup>162</sup> Indeed, Eusebius admits that he has little information about these and countless other authors and, in the second part of the passage, in fact cannot furnish the names of other contemporary orthodox interpreters of Scripture.

At the beginning of the chapter Eusebius explains that the works (ὑπομνήματα) he lists are ones that εἰς ἔτι νῦν . . . σφάζεται, "are preserved still to [Eusebius'] day," and are ones ὧν διέγνωμεν, "of which we ourselves have learned." Bauer casts some doubt on whether

<sup>162</sup> *PE* VII.22, chapter-heading: ὅτι μὴ ἀγέννητος ἡ ὕλη μηδὲ κακῶν αἰτία.

Eusebius, because of his somewhat vague words, actually knew these works.<sup>163</sup> But, these listed works are classified together with καὶ ἄλλων δὲ πλείστων . . . ἦλθον εἰς ἡμᾶς λόγοι, “the works of very many other orthodox ecclesiastical writers that have come down to us.” Eusebius’ language indicates that he possessed the works, in some form, of both the various writers listed in the first part of the passage and the anonymous interpreters of Scripture.

Eusebius seems, then, to have possessed a copy of a work on the origin of evil and the question of whether matter had a beginning, the author of which Eusebius believed was named Maximus. He also possessed copies of the works of the other writers listed: Heracleitus’ *On the Apostle*; Candidus’ *On the Hexaemeron*; Apion’s *On the Hexaemeron*; Sextus’ *On Resurrection*; a work of unknown title by Arabianus; and, apparently, other works, although Eusebius’ reference here may simply be a matter of exaggeration. Such a brief catalogue and such an admission of a lack of evidence do, however, indicate that Eusebius’ copies of these works were incomplete, perhaps even damaged.<sup>164</sup> Eusebius provides even less information about the orthodox interpreters of Scripture in this period than he provides about the writers listed before them. The works by these writers apparently were so similarly defective that Eusebius did not even know the names of the authors. Nevertheless, Eusebius seems to have possessed copies of these anonymous works.

There are two ways to solve the problems created by Eusebius’ references to Maximus. If Robinson’s argument is correct, then Eusebius possessed a copy of Methodius’ *De autexusio* (*De libero arbitrio*), although he only knew the work under the name of the author Maximus and under the title Περὶ τῆς ὕλης. Perhaps because his copy was in some way defective, and perhaps also because the work was placed with other works of the late second or early third century, Eusebius incorrectly dated the work of this “Maximus.” When he chose to quote from the work in the *PE*, however, he accurately quoted the text he possessed, that is, the text of Methodius.

<sup>163</sup> W. Bauer, *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity* (Philadelphia, 1971), p. 149.

<sup>164</sup> G. Bardy, SC #41 (Paris, 1955), p. 74, note 2, suggests that the anonymous writers whose interpretations of Scripture were orthodox came in damaged copies, but this suggestion may apply equally to the other works that Eusebius names here. Perhaps Eusebius’ catalogue is a listing of the contents of a single incomplete or defective roll.

It is possible, on the other hand, that the work Eusebius knew as Maximus' was actually the extant Adamantine dialogue.<sup>165</sup> If the Adamantine dialogue did use Methodius' *De autexsio* (*De libero arbitrio*), then it will have been composed at some time in the late third century—after Methodius wrote his work but before Eusebius composed the *HE*.<sup>166</sup> Its author will, then, have been named Maximus, although from what Eusebius writes at *HE* V.27, he knew little more than Maximus' name. Eusebius will have known so little that he incorrectly dated Maximus by two or three generations, perhaps, again, because of the defective condition of his copy and the placement of the work in the library. According to this reconstruction of events, Eusebius may have turned to Methodius' *De autexsio* (*De libero arbitrio*) for the extract that he wanted in the *PE* because Methodius' text was the more polished of the two versions. Moreover, Eusebius may have decided to name the earlier author simply in order to avoid mention of Methodius, for Methodius was, to judge from his *De resurrectione* and *De creatis*, a critic of Origen and therefore an intellectual foe. According to Jerome, Eusebius was quite aware of Methodius' hostile attitude toward Origen.<sup>167</sup> Methodius' millenarian views, with which Eusebius certainly disagreed, must have only separated the men further.<sup>168</sup> Although Eusebius ordinarily records accurately the authors of his quotations, he occasionally quotes a source

<sup>165</sup> T. D. Barnes, *CE*, p. 141, seems to accept this possibility.

<sup>166</sup> On dating the Adamantine dialogue, see R. A. Pretty, *Adamantius*, pp. 9–20.

<sup>167</sup> Jerome, *Contra Rufinum*, I.11: *Eusebius . . . in sexto libro Apologias Origenis hoc idem obicit Methodio episcopo et martyri, quod tu in meis laudibus criminariis, et dicit: Quomodo ausus est Methodius nunc contra Originem scribere, qui haec et haec de Origenis locutus est dogmatibus?* ("Eusebius . . . in the sixth book of the Defence of Origen makes this same objection against the bishop and martyr Methodius that you complain of in my praises when he says: How did Methodius, who said such and such things about Origen's doctrines, now dare to write against Origen?") J. A. Robinson, *The Philocalia of Origen*, p. xlv, notes the possibility that Eusebius ignored Methodius out of hostility toward him. E. Junod, "L'Apologie pour Origène de Pamphile et la naissance de l'origénisme," *Studia Patristica* 26 (1991), pp. 281–282, adds the suggestion that Pamphilus' *Defence of Origen* was a response to Methodius' *De resurrectione*. But, though he criticized Origen, Methodius also was indebted to Origen's thought: see recently L. G. Patterson, *Methodius of Olympus*.

<sup>168</sup> On Methodius' millenarianism, cf., *Symposium* 9.1–5. On Eusebius' opposition to millenarianism, see, for example, W. Adler, "Eusebius' *Chronicle* and Its Legacy," *Eusebius, Christianity, and Judaism*, pp. 468–469. R. M. Grant, "Papias in Eusebius' Church History," *Mélanges H.-C. Puech* (Paris, 1974), p. 212, noticing this difference between Methodius and Eusebius, intimates that it was for this reason that Eusebius misnamed Methodius "Maximus" in the *PE* and *HE*.

as if firsthand that in reality comes from an intermediary.<sup>169</sup> Perhaps Eusebius did just this with Maximus and Methodius.

There is no way to prove which of the foregoing explanations is the more accurate. I am myself inclined to think that Robinson conceives the more likely scenario, in part because it is the less complicated one. Eusebius' relatively unspecific wording at *HE* V.27 suggests not that he did not possess any of the works listed there, for his vocabulary indicates otherwise, but that he had little knowledge of the identities and provenance of the authors. It is plausible that, as a result, he mistakenly believed that his copy of Methodius' *De autexusio* (*De libero arbitrio*) was written by a late second or early third century author named Maximus. The scenario sketched here does not necessarily exclude the possibility that Eusebius consciously omitted Methodius' name from the *HE* because of Methodius' criticisms of Origen, for Eusebius' statement in the *Defense of Origen* indicates that the library at Caesarea contained some other works by Methodius that were properly attributed to him.

Eusebius thus possessed a copy of Methodius' *De autexusio* (*De libero arbitrio*), from which he drew the text of *PE* VII.22, although he believed the author to be named Maximus. He probably also had copies of some of other works by Methodius, most likely the *Aglaophon: de resurrectione* and *Xeno: de creatis*.<sup>170</sup> Eusebius will not necessarily have known the Adamantine dialogue.

A final note must be made about what Eusebius writes at *HE* V.27. Classed among the anonymous interpreters of Scripture is the author of a treatise against the heresy of Artemon, which Eusebius

<sup>169</sup> An example of Eusebius' quotation of a source as if firsthand that in reality comes from an intermediary is: *PE* IX.4.2–9, 5.1–7, and 9.1–2, in which Eusebius ostensibly quotes Hecataeus of Abdera, Clearchus, and Choerilus of Samos, respectively, though all of the quotations come from Josephus' *Contra Apionem*.

<sup>170</sup> P. Nautin, *Lettres et écrivains chrétiens des II<sup>e</sup> et III<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Paris, 1961), pp. 257–258, suggests that Jerome's report of the works of Methodius at *De viris ill.* 83 was drawn from Eusebius' catalogue of ecclesiastical works in the library at Caesarea that was included in Eusebius' *Vita Pamphili*. If Jerome's information does reflect what was available at Caesarea, then Eusebius' library contained, in addition to the *De resurrectione* and *De autexusio* (*De libero arbitrio*), the *Adversum Porphyrium*, *Symposium decem virginum*, *De pithonissa* (another work against Origen), and commentaries *In Genesim* and *In Canticum Canticorum*. Nautin's hypothesis, however, ought not to be given immediate approval, because Jerome clearly had a source different from Eusebius for his entry on Methodius, since Jerome confuses Eusebius' contemporary, Methodius of Olympus, who perished in the Great Persecution, with a Methodius of Tyre, who reportedly perished under Decius or Valerian.



introduces at *HE* V.28.1 and then thrice quotes (*HE* V.28.3–6, 8–12, and 13–19).<sup>171</sup> Theodoret later supplies a title for this work, ὁ σμικρὸς Λαβύρινθος, the *Little Labyrinth*.<sup>172</sup> Artemon himself lived in at least the middle of the third century, since he is cited in the letter of the Synod of Antioch (268) (*HE* VII.30.16–17, in which he is called Artemas), so it is possible that the *Little Labyrinth* was composed as late as that period, somewhat later than Eusebius envisions it.<sup>173</sup>

*Miltiades* Introducing one of his quotations of the Anonymous Anti-Montanist, Eusebius points out that the Anonymous speaks of another anti-Montanist writer, Miltiades (*HE* V.17.1).<sup>174</sup> This Miltiades reportedly demonstrated that a prophet ought not to speak in ecstasy. After two more quotations from the Anonymous regarding Montanist prophets, Eusebius returns to Miltiades and his writings (*HE* V.17.5). Eusebius states that Miltiades “has left behind for us other records of his zeal for the divine oracles,” namely, his *Against the Greeks*, Πρὸς Ἑλλήνας, and *Against the Jews*, Πρὸς Ἰουδαίους, each in two books. Eusebius adds that Miltiades produced an *Apology* addressed to the “rulers of the world,” either provincial governors or emperors.<sup>175</sup>

<sup>171</sup> *HE* V.28.1: τούτων ἔν τινος σπουδάσματι κατὰ τῆς Ἀρτέμωνος αἰρέσεως πεπονημένῳ . . . φέρεται τις διήγησις ταῖς ἐξεταζομέναις ἡμῖν προσήκουσα ἱστορίαις. (“In a work composed by one of these against the heresy of Artemon . . . there is extant a narrative germane to our historical investigations” [trans. Oulton].) Apart from Eusebius’ quotations, his use of the word φέρεται further indicates that the work was available to Eusebius.

<sup>172</sup> Theodoret, *Haereticarum fabularum compendium*, II.5 (PG 83:392).

<sup>173</sup> Artemon is not named in the extant fragments, and R. H. Connolly, “Eusebius H. E. V.28,” *JTS* 49 (1948), pp. 73–79, in arguing (following Lightfoot and Harnack) that Hippolytus was the author of the *Little Labyrinth*, necessarily suggests that the work cannot have been aimed at Artemon, since Artemon flourished a generation after Hippolytus. J. T. Fitzgerald, “Eusebius and *The Little Labyrinth*,” *The Early Church in Its Context*, A. J. Malherbe et al., edd., Suppl. to Novum Testamentum 90 (Leiden, 1998), pp. 120–146, rightly leaves the author anonymous; he would place the date of composition ca. 240–255 (p. 144).

<sup>174</sup> In his introduction Eusebius names “Miltiades,” but in most manuscripts the Anonymous then writes “Alcibiades” in the excerpt that follows at *HE* V.17.1. For other ancient references to Miltiades, see Tertullian, *Adversus Valentinianos* 15, and *HE* V.28.4 (extract from the *Little Labyrinth*).

<sup>175</sup> *HE* V.17.5: ὁ γέ τοι πρὸς αὐτοῦ δεδηλωμένος Μιλτιάδης καὶ ἄλλας ἡμῖν τῆς ἰδίας περὶ τὰ θεῖα λόγια σπουδῆς μνήμας καταλέλοιπεν ἐν τε οἷς πρὸς Ἑλλήνας συνέταξε λόγους καὶ τοῖς πρὸς Ἰουδαίους, ἑκατέρᾳ ὑποθέσει ἐν δυσὶν ὑπάντησας συγγράμμασιν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς κοσμικοὺς ἄρχοντας ὑπὲρ ἧς μετέφει φιλοσοφίας πεποιήται ἀπολογία. (“Now Miltiades, whom he [the Anonymous Anti-Montanist] has mentioned, has also left us other monuments of his personal zeal for the divine oracles, both in the discourses which he composed against the Greeks and in those against the Jews,



Eusebius offers no other information about Miltiades' works, and his language about Miltiades is not specific: he reports only that Miltiades has left behind records for him (ἡμῖν . . . μνήμας καταλείπειν).<sup>176</sup> It is difficult, in fact, not to suspect that Eusebius learned of Miltiades' writings from the Anonymous Anti-Montanist, whose notice of Miltiades Eusebius quoted earlier.

*New Testament Writings* To discuss the nature of the New Testament text known to Eusebius and the developing canon of New Testament writings up to the fourth century requires the knowledge of a specialist in that field. Eusebius' own classification of NT writings at *HE* III.25, however, can be considered here as a basis from which to determine which works Eusebius possessed.

Eusebius' system of classifying NT writings at *HE* III.25 is somewhat confusing because Eusebius actually divides his texts into two overlapping categories: orthodox and unorthodox works on the one hand and, on the other, canonical (accepted as well as disputed) and uncanonical works.<sup>177</sup> Of the accepted (ὁμολογούμενα) works, Eusebius lists at *HE* III.25.1–2 τὴν ἁγίαν τῶν εὐαγγελίων τετρακτύν, that is, the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John; the Acts of the Apostles; the Epistles of Paul;<sup>178</sup> 1 John; 1 Peter; and, with some doubt, the Apocalypse of John. While there can be no doubt that Eusebius possessed these works, it may be added that subscriptions to extant manuscripts of Paul's Epistles and of Acts and the Catholic Epistles ascribe their exemplars to Caesarea.<sup>179</sup>

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dealing with each subject separately in two treatises; and moreover he has addressed a defence of the philosophy which he followed to the rulers of this world" [trans. Oulton].) For the identification of the "rulers of this world" as provincial governors, see T. D. Barnes, *Tertullian: a Historical and Literary Study* (Oxford, 1971), p. 104 and note 3. Lawlor and Oulton, II.176, and G. Bardy, *SC* #41 (Paris, 1955), p. 54, note 14, identify them as emperors. R. M. Grant, "Five Apologists and Marcus Aurelius," *Vigiliae Christianae* 42 (1988), pp. 13–14, thinks that they are all "transient rulers," whether provincial or imperial.

<sup>176</sup> Cf. Eusebius' other usage of the words "has left behind records" with Hegesippus. At *HE* IV.22.1 Eusebius supplements μνήμην καταλείπειν with a specific reference to Hegesippus' five books of *Hypomnemata*.

<sup>177</sup> On Eusebius' system, see B. M. Metzger, *The Canon of the New Testament: Its Origin, Development, and Significance* (Oxford, 1987), pp. 201–207.

<sup>178</sup> At *HE* III.3.5 Eusebius acknowledges fourteen Pauline epistles, including Hebrews.

<sup>179</sup> Paul's Epistles: Cambridge, Add. 1700, f. 216 (R. Devreesse, *Introduction*, p. 160); Coislin 202, f. 14 (Devreesse, p. 163). Acts and the Catholic Epistles: Cod.

Of the disputed (ἀντιλεγόμενα) works, Eusebius names at *HE* III.25.3 the Epistles of James, Jude, 2 Peter, and 2 and 3 John. Eusebius naturally possessed all of these orthodox and canonical books.

Of the spurious (νόθα) works, Eusebius names at *HE* III.25.4–5 the *Acts of Paul*; *Shepherd*; *Apocalypse of Peter*; *Epistle of Barnabas*; *Didache*; again, the *Apocalypse of John*; and the *Gospel of the Hebrews*. Eusebius earlier (*HE* III.3.5) rejected the *Acts of Paul* from the canon, and, though he merely reports the tradition handed down to him about this work, Eusebius may have known its contents. Origen knew and used the work, although he did not necessarily use it at Caesarea.<sup>180</sup> For Hermas' *The Shepherd*, see the section above on Hermas; Eusebius likely possessed this work. Eusebius probably also knew the *Apocalypse of Peter*, which he earlier excluded from the canon (*HE* III.3.2).<sup>181</sup> Similarly, Eusebius was probably able to find the *Epistle of Barnabas* in his library; Origen also used this letter at Caesarea.<sup>182</sup> Eusebius does not make use of the *Didache* in the *HE*, but this work, too, was probably available to him.<sup>183</sup> The *Gospel according to the Hebrews* was certainly in the library at Caesarea: Eusebius quotes the same passage from it twice in the *Theophania*; it was used by Origen at Caesarea; and Jerome even claims to have found a copy of it in the library at Caesarea.<sup>184</sup>

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Vat. Reg. 179, f. 71 (Devreesse, p. 168). The texts of these subscriptions are printed above in Chapter I.

<sup>180</sup> *HE* III.3.5: οὐδὲ μὴν τὰς λεγομένας αὐτοῦ Πράξεις ἐν ἀμφιλέκτοις παρεῖληφα. ("I have not received what are called his Acts among the undisputed works.") Origen uses the *Acts of Paul* at *De princip.* 1.2.3 (written at Alexandria); *Comm. in Johan.* 20.12 (this commentary was composed in the midst of Origen's travels from Alexandria to Caesarea, Antioch, and Greece; see P. Nautin, *Origène*, pp. 366–368 and 377–380).

<sup>181</sup> On the other hand, Eusebius may have known only Clement of Alexandria's description of the work in the *Hypotyposes* (*HE* VI.14.1).

<sup>182</sup> Origen, *Contra Celsum*, 1.63. For other possible references, see A. van den Hoek, "Clement and Origen as Sources on 'Noncanonical' Scriptural Traditions during the Late Second and Earlier Third Centuries," *Origeniana Sexta: Origène et la Bible*, G. Dorival and A. Le Boulluec, edd. (Leuven, 1995), pp. 97–98.

<sup>183</sup> B. M. Metzger, *Canon*, p. 187, thinks that Origen knew and used the *Didache*. Cf. *Hom. in Iudices* 6.2 to *Didache* 9.2. Cf. also *De prin.* 3.2.7.

<sup>184</sup> Eusebius, *Theophania*, IV.12 at p. 183, 29 and p. 184, 4 Gressmann; Origen, *Comm. in Matt.* 16.12 and 15.14, the latter to be compared to *Comm. in Johan.* 2.12 and *Hom. in Jer.* 15.4 for versions of the same passage; Jerome, *De viris ill.* 2 and 3; *Dial. contra Pelag.* 3.2.

At *HE* III.25.6 Eusebius names some of the uncanonical and unorthodox writings, which Eusebius labels at *HE* III.25.7 “altogether unnatural and ungodly,” ἄτοπα πάντα καὶ δυσσεβῆ, because of their neglect by orthodox writers, their style, and their unorthodox content—all judgments that should imply Eusebius’ firsthand acquaintance with these texts.<sup>185</sup> Eusebius lists the *Gospel of Peter*, which Eusebius also rejects from the canon at *HE* III.3.2 and which Origen seems to have known at Caesarea (*Comm. in Matt.* 10.17);<sup>186</sup> the *Gospel of Thomas*;<sup>187</sup> the *Gospel of Matthias*; and “certain others.” Added to this list are the *Acts of Andrew*, *Acts of John*, and *Acts* of “the other apostles.” Eusebius clearly chooses not to make an exhaustive catalogue of unorthodox apocrypha known to him, but at least two other works could be included here, the *Acts of Peter* and the *Preaching of Peter* (Κήρυγμα Πέτρου), which Eusebius rejects from the canon at *HE* III.3.2.<sup>188</sup> Additional works referred to by Origen, such as the *Protevan-gelium Jacobi* (*Comm. in Matt.* 10.17), and the *Gospel of the Egyptians*, *Gospel of the Twelve Apostles*, and *Gospel of Basilides* (all at *Hom. in Lucam*, 1.2), could well have been in the library at Caesarea also.

*Novatianist Dossier* [See Dionysius of Alexandria.]

<sup>185</sup> It is possible, however, that Eusebius simply adopted his view of these works from others, especially Origen. Thus, Serapion of Antioch had a low opinion of the *Gospel of Peter* (*HE* VI.12.2–6), and Origen at *Hom. in Lucam* 1.2 lists several unacceptable gospels, including the *Gospel of Thomas* and the *Gospel of Matthias*.

<sup>186</sup> Although she does not offer a reason, A. van den Hoek, “Clement and Origen as Sources on ‘Noncanonical’ Scriptural Traditions,” *Origeniana Sexta*, p. 106, believes it unlikely that Origen knew the *Gospel of Peter* firsthand.

<sup>187</sup> R. M. Grant, *Eusebius as Church Historian* (Oxford, 1980), pp. 137–138, suggests that Eusebius drew on the *Gospel of Thomas* at *HE* II.13.7 and notes that Origen seems to have used this gospel at *Hom. in Jos.* 4.3 and *Hom. in Jer.* 1(3).3. Grant also notes that the source could be the *Gospel of the Hebrews*.

<sup>188</sup> At *HE* III.1 Eusebius reports a tradition received from Origen’s *Comm. in Gen.* about the allotment of lands to the Apostles (Parthia to Thomas; Scythia to Andrew; Asia to John; Asia Minor to Peter). In this tradition, Peter is said to have been crucified upside down at Rome. E. Junod, “Origène, Eusèbe et la tradition sur la réparation des champs de mission des apôtres (Eusèbe, *Historie ecclésiastique* III.1–3),” *Les Actes apocryphes des apôtres*, F. Bovon et al., edd. (Geneva, 1981), pp. 233–248, thinks that Origen may have drawn the tradition about Peter from the *Acts of Peter*. Origen’s other sources for the tradition Eusebius reports are unknown. On Origen’s possible knowledge of the *Preaching of Peter*, see A. van den Hoek, “Clement and Origen as Sources on ‘Noncanonical’ Scriptural Traditions,” *Origeniana Sexta*, p. 107; cf. also C. A. Spada, “Origene e gli apocrifi del nuovo testamento,” *Origeniana Quarta* (Leuven, 1987), p. 47.

*Origen* In the course of his treatment of the writings of Origen in the *HE*, Eusebius explains that he need not make an accurate catalogue of Origen's works that have come into his possession (εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐλθόντα), since he has provided such a catalogue in his *Vita Pamphili*, the biography of his teacher, the martyr Pamphilus.<sup>189</sup> Unfortunately, Eusebius' *Vita Pamphili* is now lost, and the full record of which of Origen's works were contained in the library at Caesarea cannot be known.

Jerome, however, compiled a catalogue that was intended to show his friend Paula that the Christian Origen was a more voluminous writer than the pagans Varro and Didymus Chalcenterus (*Ep.* 33), and this list must give some indication of how many works Origen wrote and how many could have been in the library at Caesarea. It is possible, as some scholars believe, that Jerome's list reproduces the list given by Eusebius in the *Vita Pamphili*.<sup>190</sup> But, though Jerome names almost 200 works in 786 entries in his list, elsewhere he implies that the Caesarean collection of Origen's works came to almost 2000 books.<sup>191</sup> More important, the relative disorder of Jerome's

<sup>189</sup> *HE* VI.32.3: τί δεῖ τῶν λόγων τάνδρὸς ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος τὸν ἀκριβῆ κατάλογον ποιέσθαι, ἰδίας δεόμενον σχολῆς; ὃν καὶ ἀνεγράψαμεν ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ Παμφίλου βίου τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἱεροῦ μάρτυρος ἀναγραφῆς, ἐν ἣ τὴν περὶ θεῖα σπουδὴν τοῦ Παμφίλου ὁπότε τις γερόνοι, παριστῶντες, ἥς συναχθεῖσθαι αὐτῶ τῶν τε Ὀριγένους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐκκλησιαστικῶν συγγραφέων βιβλιοθήκης τοὺς πίνακας παρεθέμην, ἐξ ὧν ὅτῳ φίλον, πάρεστιν ἐντελέστατα τῶν Ὀριγένους πόνον τὰ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐλθόντα διαγνῶναι. ("Why should one draw up the exact catalogue of the man's works here and now, seeing that such would require a special study? And we did record it in our account of the life of Pamphilus, that holy martyr of our day, in which, in showing the extent of Pamphilus' zeal for divine things, I quoted as evidence the lists in the library that he had brought together of the works of Origen and of other ecclesiastical writers; and from these anyone who pleases can gather the fullest knowledge of the works of Origen that have reached us" [trans. Oulton].)

<sup>190</sup> E. Klostermann, "Die Schriften des Origenes in Hieronymus' Brief an Paula," *Sitzungsberichte der königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 2 (1897), pp. 855–870, examines the catalogue in Jerome's *Ep.* 33; see pp. 858–859 for discussion of the possible interpretations of the catalogue. Among those scholars who tend to equate Jerome's list with Eusebius' list, A. Harnack, *Die Briefsammlung des Apostels Paulus und die anderen vorkonstantinischen christlichen Briefsammlungen* (Leipzig, 1926), p. 43, considers Jerome's list to be a Latin translation of Eusebius' catalogue, while P. Nautin, *Origène: sa vie et son oeuvre* (Paris, 1977), pp. 227–241, believes that, though Jerome did not simply translate Eusebius' list, Jerome's list was taken from the *Vita Pamphili*. For the evidence regarding the existence of Origen's works listed by Jerome and Eusebius, see further Nautin, pp. 242–260. H. Crouzel, *Origen*, A. S. Worrall, trans. (San Francisco, 1989), p. 37, thinks Jerome's list comes from what Jerome saw in the library at Caesarea.

<sup>191</sup> Jerome, *Adversus Rufinum* 2.22: *Numera indices librorum eius qui in tertio volumine*

list suggests some revision,<sup>192</sup> and, in any case, Jerome acquired his own collection of works by Origen from such places as Constantinople even before he travelled to Palestine.<sup>193</sup> It will therefore be safer to propose only that, while Jerome's list was probably based upon Eusebius' list, the catalogue in Jerome's letter to Paula represents the contents of Jerome's own library.<sup>194</sup> The works in the library at Caesarea may have been approximately as numerous as what is described by Jerome, but some works known to Eusebius are omitted from Jerome's list,<sup>195</sup> some may have been lost by Jerome's time,<sup>196</sup> and in some instances Jerome apparently possessed more complete works than did Eusebius: Jerome knows thirteen books on Genesis, while Eusebius knows twelve (*HE* VI.24.2); Jerome possesses thirty-two on John, while Eusebius possesses twenty-two (*HE* VI.24.1); Jerome has thirty-six books on Isaiah, while Eusebius has only thirty (*HE* VI.32.1); and Jerome knows twenty-nine books on Ezekiel, while Eusebius has only twenty-five (*HE* VI.32.3). Nevertheless, as an illustration of what Eusebius' library may have contained, Jerome's list is summarized below in an appendix.

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*Eusebii, in quo scripsit vitam Pamphili, continentur, et non dico sex milia, sed teriam partem non reperies.* ("Count the titles of his [Origen's] books, which are contained in the third volume of the *Life of Pamphilus* that Eusebius wrote, and I say not six thousand, but you will find a third of that.") P. Nautin, *Origène*, p. 233, however, is right to caution that, since Jerome is responding to Rufinus' citation of the number of works according to Epiphanius, Jerome may not intend here to provide a precise figure of the number of Origen's books at Caesarea. Nevertheless, for comparison, it may be recalled that, according to the index compiled by Possidius, Augustine's biographer, the number of Augustine's works surpassed 1000.

<sup>192</sup> Cf. E. Klostermann, "Die Schriften des Origenes," *Sitzungsberichte* (1897), pp. 858–859; and P. Nautin, *Origène*, p. 230, even admits this conclusion.

<sup>193</sup> See J. N. D. Kelly, *Jerome: His Life, Writings, and Controversies* (London, 1975), pp. 75–77. Jerome translated for Vincentius fourteen of Origen's homilies on Ezekiel and also sent him fourteen homilies on Jeremiah.

<sup>194</sup> P. Courcelle, *Late Latin Writers and their Greek Sources*, H. E. Wedeck, trans. (Cambridge, MA, 1969), pp. 103–104, gives this more cautious evaluation of the evidence. Courcelle concludes that "Jerome's entire output confirms the fact that he knew all Origen's books that he mentions in his catalogue" (p. 110).

<sup>195</sup> For example, Jerome neglects to name the *Contra Celsum*, but P. Courcelle, *Late Latin Writers*, p. 110, believes that Jerome knew the work. On the omissions from Jerome's catalogue, see Courcelle, pp. 110–111; P. Nautin, *Origène*, pp. 232–241.

<sup>196</sup> Some works in the Caesarean library may have been lost when the papyrus collection was replaced by parchment codices by Eusebius' successors Acacius and Euzoius: see Jerome, *De viris ill.* 113; *Ep.* 34.1. R. Cadiou, "La bibliothèque de Césarée et la formation des chaînes," *Revue des sciences religieuses* 16 (1936), p. 478, notes the likelihood that the contents of the library at Caesarea had changed between the time of Pamphilus and Eusebius and the period when Jerome used the library.

Eusebius himself includes three short catalogues of Origen's writings in the sixth book of the *HE*. At *HE* VI.24 Eusebius lists the works composed at, or at least begun at, Alexandria. The first five books of the *Commentary on John* were written at Alexandria, and Eusebius possesses twenty-two total books (εἰς ἡμᾶς περιτλήθον, VI.24.1). Later, Eusebius quotes from this commentary (*HE* VI.25.7–10) and refers to it as evidence for the date of persecution under Maximinus Thrax (*HE* VI.28), and Pamphilus uses it in the extant first book of his *Defense of Origen*. At the beginning of his sixth book of the *Comm. in Johan*. Origen explains that he did not bring the first five books of the commentary with him to Caesarea, but, because Pamphilus quotes from the second and fifth books of the commentary in the *Defense of Origen* and Eusebius also quotes from the fifth book, it is evident that the first five books were later recovered, perhaps by Pamphilus himself. Eight books of the *Commentary on Genesis* were composed at Alexandria, and Eusebius possesses twelve books altogether (VI.24.2). Twice Eusebius quotes from this commentary in the *PE* (VI.11.1–81 and VII.20.1–9), and a passage from it is used in Pamphilus' *Defense of Origen*. Also in this list is the *Commentary on Psalms 1–25*, from which Eusebius then quotes at *HE* VI.25.1–2.<sup>197</sup> Extracts from this work also appear in the *Defense of Origen*. Eusebius next lists the *Commentary on Lamentations* in five books (εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐληλύθασιν); *On Resurrection* in two books, from which passages are drawn in the *Defense of Origen*; and *On Principles*, which Eusebius knew in at least four books, since Pamphilus quotes from the first, second, and fourth books of the *On Principles* in the first book of his *Defense of Origen*. In addition, there are ten books of *Stromateis*. Eusebius explains that notes in the front of his copy of the *Stromateis* supply the information about its date and place of composition.<sup>198</sup>

At *HE* VI.32 Eusebius names three works: *Commentary on Isaiah*, of which Eusebius possesses thirty books (εἰς ἡμᾶς περιτλήθον); *Commentary*

<sup>197</sup> P. Nautin, *Origène*, p. 249, thinks the work on Psalms 1–25 should be classed as excerpta and not commentary; he equates the work with the excerpta in Jerome's list, which he emends from 1–15 to 1–25.

<sup>198</sup> *HE* VI.24.3: ὡς καὶ τοῦτο ὁλόγραφοι δηλοῦσιν αὐτοῦ πρὸ τῶν τόμων ἐπισημειώσεις. Oulton translates the passage "as is shown by the annotations in his [Origen's] own hand in front of the tomes." C. Stead, "Marcel Richard on Malchion and Paul of Samosata," *Logos: Festschrift für Luise Abramowski zum 8. Juli 1993*, H. C. Brennecke et al., edd. (Berlin, 1993), p. 146, however, shows that ὁλόγραφοι here must simply mean "written out in full."

on *Ezekiel*, of which Eusebius possesses twenty-five books; and *Commentary on the Song of Songs*, of which Eusebius possesses ten books. Despite Eusebius' protest against the need to catalogue all of Origen's works (*HE* VI.32.3), another list appears at *HE* VI.36. Eusebius names the *Contra Celsum* in eight books, a work that can also be traced to Caesarea through a subscription to a manuscript;<sup>199</sup> *Commentary on Matthew* in twenty-five books, from which Eusebius earlier quoted a passage (*HE* VI.25.4–6) and from which extracts are given in the *Defense of Origen*; and the *Commentary on the Minor Prophets*, of which Eusebius is able to find only twenty-five books. Jerome later claims to have found Pamphilus' own autograph copy of this last work (*De viris ill.* 75).<sup>200</sup>

In addition, Eusebius reports that many of Origen's letters are extant (VI.36.3, φέρεται): one to Philip the Arab; one to Philip's wife, Severa; others to various other people; and one to Pope Fabian and others to other churchmen regarding Origen's orthodoxy. Eusebius adds that he has himself collected more than a hundred such letters ἐν ἰδίαις τόμων περιγραφαῖς, in separate rolls of papyrus.<sup>201</sup> There is much other evidence within the sixth book of the *HE* that Eusebius possessed and made use of Origen's letters.<sup>202</sup> Certainly, Eusebius

<sup>199</sup> J. Scherer, *Extraits des livres I et II du Contre Celse d'Origène: le papyrus 88747 du Musée du Caire* (Cairo, 1956), p. 102: one of the Tura papyri (dated to the beginning of the seventh century) has a subscription at the end of the first book of the *Contra Celsum*, Μετεβλήθη καὶ ἀντεβλήθη ἐξ ἀντιγράφου τῶν αὐτοῦ Ὁριγένους βιβλί[ων] ("Transcribed from and collated with the copy of the books of Origen himself"). A similar subscription appears in Vaticanus gr. 386 (saec. XIII).

<sup>200</sup> H. Crouzel, *Origen*, A. S. Worrall, trans. (San Francisco, 1989), p. 40, states that, if one counts the books of Origen's *Commentary on the Minor Prophets* cited by Jerome, then Jerome seems to have known twenty-six books of this work. It is possible that Jerome's report in the *De vir. ill.* of the *Commentary's* number of books is simply drawn from Eusebius' notice, as many of Jerome's entries are. (The *Commentary on the Minor Prophets* does not appear in Jerome's *Ep.* 33, so the number of books cannot be checked against this list.) If Crouzel is correct, then Eusebius' report may indicate that Eusebius actually looked at his copy of the *Commentary* when he composed this chapter of the *HE* and did not simply rely on the list of Origen's works already prepared for the *Vita Pamphili*.

<sup>201</sup> Oulton translates "in separate roll-cases," and in the note at Lawlor and Oulton, II.225, the suggestion is made that "the περιγραφαί of the text may be the boxes [κιβωτοί, *cistae*, *capsae*], as the τόμοι are the rolls." Bardy's translation is: "volumes spéciaux." Jerome lists three volumes of letters, in addition to excerpts, although the text here at the end of his catalogue may need some emendation. For suggestions on the text and on the relationship between Jerome's items and Eusebius' collections, see E. Klostermann, "Die Schriften des Origenes," *Sitzungsberichte* (1897), pp. 869–870, and P. Nautin, *Lettres*, pp. 233–240.

<sup>202</sup> See *HE* VI.2.1 (a general reference); VI.2.6 (on Origen's father's martyrdom,



had letters regarding Origen's controversy with Demetrius, the bishop of Alexandria.<sup>203</sup> Rufinus even quotes from a letter Origen sent to his friends in Alexandria during this controversy, a quotation that probably derives from Pamphilus' *Defense of Origen*.<sup>204</sup> Later, Dionysius of Alexandria probably exchanged letters with Origen.<sup>205</sup> In addition, it is likely that the extant letters to Gregory Thaumaturgus and Julius Africanus were at Caesarea.<sup>206</sup> Evidence from Jerome suggests that Origen received letters from Gregory and Firmilian of Caesarea in Cappadocia, while his other correspondents included his patron Ambrose, Tryphon, Beryllus of Bostra, and Alexander of Jerusalem.<sup>207</sup>

A record of Origen's debate with Beryllus of Bostra (*HE* VI.33.3) was also available at Caesarea. If such a record was not kept with the transcript of the Arabian synod's *acta*, then it may have been classed with Origen's works, possibly his letters, since Origen engaged in several similar dialogues. From one of Origen's letters addressed

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though the letter Origen originally wrote as a boy may not have been extant; cf. Photius, *cod.* 118 for the story apparently derived from the *Defense of Origen*; VI.3.1 (possibly based on a letter); VI.28 (reference to letters to establish that persecution occurred under Maximinus Thrax); VI.34 (possible source for the story that Philip the Arab was Christian, according to H. Crouzel, "Le christianisme de l'empereur Philippe l'Arabe," *Gregorianum* 56 [1975], p. 547); and VI.39.5 (reference with regard to the torturing of Origen and his death).

<sup>203</sup> Cf. *HE* VI.23.4 for Eusebius' reference to the *Defense of Origen* for more information on this controversy. *HE* VI.19.12–24 contains a quotation that P. Nautin, *Lettres*, p. 126, has argued was an autobiographical letter addressed to Alexander of Jerusalem for use in defending Origen.

<sup>204</sup> Rufinus, *De adulteratione librorum Origenis*, 7.

<sup>205</sup> See *HE* VI.46.2, in which Dionysius of Alexandria reportedly sent a letter to Origen on martyrdom. See also Photius, *cod.* 232 (Stephanus Gobarus) (V.79 Henry), for a reference to Dionysius' writing to Origen.

<sup>206</sup> Origen's letter to Gregory appears in the *Philocalia*, 13. Eusebius refers to Origen's letter to Africanus, on the authenticity of the story of Susanna in Daniel, at *HE* VI.31.1, since Origen's letter was a reply to Africanus' letter, which was also in Eusebius' possession.

<sup>207</sup> On Ambrose, see *De viris ill.* 56 and 61, as well as *Ep.* 43.1. On Tryphon, see *De viris ill.* 57. On Beryllus, see *De viris ill.* 60. On Alexander, see *De viris ill.* 62 and cf. *HE* VI.14.8–9. On letters from Gregory and Firmilian, see Jerome's list at *Ep.* 33.4. On these correspondents, see also P. Courcelle, *Late Latin Writers*, pp. 109–110. P. Nautin, *Lettres*, pp. 218–219, cautions that the existence of a correspondence between Origen and Beryllus may be a conjecture made by Jerome on the basis of *HE* VI.20.2. On Firmilian of Caesarea in Cappadocia, see the end of Jerome's catalogue: the name Firmian may be a mistake for Firmilian. If the fragments cited in Victor of Capua's translation of John the Deacon's *catena* on the Heptateuch are authentic, then Gobarus can be added to the list of Origen's correspondents: see P. Nautin, *Lettres*, pp. 248–249. See also pp. 250–254 for other correspondence with Firmilian and Ambrose.



to friends in Alexandria Rufinus knows about a debate in Greece, a record of which was requested by the church in Palestine (*De adult.* 7). At *HE* VI.37 Eusebius notes another debate in Arabia, possibly the same as the extant debate with Heracleides.<sup>208</sup>

Several other works by Origen are named in the sixth book of the *HE*. At *HE* VI.16 Eusebius records the existence of Origen's greatest achievements in biblical scholarship, the *Hexapla* and *Tetrapla*. These works set in parallel columns the various Greek translations of the Hebrew Scriptures: the Septuagint and the versions of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, together with a fifth version found at Nicopolis and a sixth found at Jericho.<sup>209</sup> As is discussed in the introduction, several extant manuscripts contain subscriptions that ascribe their exemplars to Caesarean copies of the *Tetrapla* and *Hexapla*. Jerome later claims to have used the *Hexapla* at Caesarea (*De viris ill.* 54; *In Psalm.* 1). Eusebius notes here in passing that Origen acquired another work by *Symmachus*, one of the translators whose work was incorporated into the *Hexapla*, probably a commentary on the Gospel of Matthew. These ὑπομνήματα, Eusebius adds, are "still extant" (φέρεται), that is, in the library at Caesarea. Eusebius also quotes from Origen's homilies: from a homily on the Epistle to the Hebrews (*HE* VI.25.11–14) and from a homily on Psalm 82 (*HE* VI.38). An unidentified work is quoted at *HE* VI.14.10. Reference is also made to the *De martyrio* at *HE* VI.28.

Pamphilus and Eusebius composed a *Defense of Origen* that is now lost, except for the first book, which survives in Rufinus' translation (PG 17.542–616). Quotations are drawn from a variety of Origen's works that were probably taken from the library at Caesarea. Among those not already named in the lists above, there are quotations from commentaries on Proverbs and on the Epistles to Titus, Hebrews,

<sup>208</sup> For the debate with Heracleides, see J. Scherer, ed., *Entretien d'Origène avec Héraclide*, SC #67 (Paris, 1960). But H. Crouzel, *Origen*, p. 32, separates Origen's visit to Arabia in *HE* VI.37 from Origen's discussion with Heracleides in Arabia.

<sup>209</sup> The precise composition of the *Tetrapla* and *Hexapla* is disputed, and Eusebius' chapter here is difficult to untangle. Traditionally, the *Hexapla* has been understood as comprising: (1) Hebrew; (2) Hebrew transliterated into Greek; (3) the Septuagint; (4–6) the translations of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion. The *Tetrapla* would then be limited to the LXX and translations of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion. But how to account for the additional versions that Origen discovered? P. Nautin, *Origène*, pp. 303–361, has advanced the argument that the names "Tetrapla" and "Hexapla" refer only to the number of Greek translations, and thus the *Hexapla* accommodated the fifth and sixth versions Origen found.

Romans, Galatians, Colossians, and Philemon.<sup>210</sup> Furthermore, according to the ecclesiastical historian Socrates (IV.27), Gregory Thaumaturgus' panegyric of Origen was included in the *Defense of Origen* and thus was, not surprisingly, available at Caesarea.

Both Eusebius and Jerome attest to Pamphilus' diligence in collecting the work of Origen.<sup>211</sup> As Pamphilus' student, Eusebius also augmented the collection at Caesarea, as, for example, he reports he did with Origen's letters (*HE* VI.36.3). As is noted in the first chapter, some harm must have come to Origen's library that necessitated Pamphilus' search for the works of Origen. Nevertheless, Origen himself must have left behind at Caesarea numerous works, especially, of course, those he composed at Caesarea (commentaries, homilies, scholia, biblical manuscripts), and many will have survived to Pamphilus' day. So, for example, according to Nautin's research on the chronology of Origen's works, in addition to works already listed above (*Commentary on John, Commentary on Genesis, De martyrio, Commentary on Isaiah, Commentary on Ezekiel, Commentary on the Canticle of Canticles, Commentary on the Minor Prophets, Commentary on Matthew, and Contra Celsum*), works composed after Origen settled at Caesarea would include scholia on Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Isaiah, the Psalter, Ecclesiastes, and John; *De oratione*; homilies on the Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticle of Canticles, Job, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, 1 Samuel (delivered in Jerusalem), Luke, Matthew, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Thessalonians, Titus, Hebrews, Acts, and possibly John; conciliar documents from Arabia; and commentaries on Paul, the Psalter, Proverbs, and Luke.<sup>212</sup>

With the deposit left by Origen and what was then collected by Pamphilus and Eusebius, Caesarea was a capital of the study of

<sup>210</sup> Pamphilus cites the work on Proverbs as if it is one book (PG 17.613). P. Nautin, *Origène*, pp. 250 and 252, assigns the quotation not to a commentary, which he believes was in three books, but to a work *De Proverbiorum quibusdam quaestionibus liber unus*. Nautin (pp. 242–245) also brings together the *testimonia* on the other works cited in the *Defense of Origen*. There was one book on Titus; an uncertain but plural number on Hebrews; fifteen books on Romans; five on Galatians; three on Colossians; and one on Philemon.

<sup>211</sup> *HE* VI.32.3; Jerome, *De viris ill.* 75 and *Ep.* 34.1. But Pamphilus could not always find works he wanted: as was noted in Chapter I, Jerome, *Ep.* 34.1, observes that Pamphilus could not obtain Origen's commentary on Psalm 126 and his homily on the letter phe.

<sup>212</sup> P. Nautin, *Origène*, pp. 371–412.

Origen and must indeed have amassed several hundred volumes of his work.

*Appendix: Jerome's list of Origen's works (Ep. 33.4)*

- On Genesis* in 13 books;
- Various homilies in 2 books;
- Scholia on Exodus;
- Scholia on Leviticus;
- Stromateis* in 10 books;
- On Isaiah* in 36 books; Scholia on Isaiah;
- On Hosea regarding Ephraim* in 1 book; *On Hosea*; *On Joel* in 2 books; *On Amos* in 6 books; *On Jonah* in 1 book; *On Micah* in 3 books; *On Nahum* in 2 books; *On Habakkuk* in 3 books; *On Zephaniah* in 2 books; *On Haggai* in 1 book; *On the Beginning of Zechariah* in 2 books; *On Malachi* in 2 books; *On Ezekiel* in 29 books;
- Scholia on Psalms 1–15; *On Psalms* 1–16, 20, 24, 29, 38, 40, 45–46, 51–53, 57–59, 62–65, 68, 70–71, a single book each; *On Psalm 43* in 2 books; *On Psalm 44* in 3 books; *On Psalm 50* in 2 books;
- Scholia on Ecclesiastes;
- On the Song of Songs* in 10 books, with 2 other books from Origen's youth;
- On the Lamentation of Jeremiah* in 5 books;
- "Monobibla" in 5 books;
- On Principles* in 4 books; *On Resurrection* in 2 books; *Dialogue on Resurrection* in 2 books; *On Certain Questions in Proverbs* in 1 book; *Dialogue against Candidus the Valentinian*; *On Martyrdom*;
- On Matthew* in 25 books; *On John* in 32 books; Scholia on certain parts of John in 1 book; *On Luke* in 15 books;
- On Paul's Epistle to the Romans* in 15 books; *On the Epistle to the Galatians* in 15 books; *On the Epistle to the Ephesians* in 3 books; *On the Epistle to the Philippians* in 1 book; *On the Epistle to the Colossians* in 2 books; *On the First Epistle to the Thessalonians* in 3 books; *On the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians* in 1 book; *On the Epistle to Titus* in 1 book; *On the Epistle to Philemon* in 1 book;
- Homilies on Genesis (a total of 17); Homilies on Exodus (8); Homilies on Leviticus (11); Homilies on Numbers (28); Homilies on Deuteronomy (13); Homilies on Joshua (26); Homilies on Judges (9); Homilies on Pascha (8); Homilies on 1 Kings (4); Homilies on Job (22); Homilies on Proverbs (7); Homilies on Ecclesiastes (8); Homilies on the Song of Songs (2); Homilies on Isaiah (32); Homilies on Jeremiah (14); Homilies on Ezekiel (12);
- One homily each on Psalms 3–4, 8, 12–13, 16, 18, 22–27, 49, 51, 54, 74–75, 81, 83, 85, 87, 108, 110, 120, 125, 127–129, 131, 145–147, 149; Two homilies each on Psalms 37–39, 52, 71, 80, 84, 121–124, 132–134, 137, 139; Three homilies each on Psalms 15, 72–73, 76, 82, 118, 144; Homilies on Psalm 36 (5); Homilies on

Psalm 67 (7); Homilies on Psalm 77 (9); Homilies on Psalm 79 (4); Homilies on Psalm 135 (4); Homilies on Psalm 138 (4); Scholia on the whole Psalter;  
 Homilies on Matthew (a total of 25); Homilies on Luke (38); Homilies on Acts (17); Homilies on 2 Corinthians (11); Homilies on the Epistle to the Thessalonians (2); Homilies on Galatians (7); Homily on Titus; Homilies on the Epistle to the Hebrews (18);  
 Homily on Peace; Exhortation to Pionia; Homilies on Abstinence, monogamy, and Trigamy (2); Homilies at Tarsus (2);  
 Also, Scholia of Origen;  
 Letters of Origen to Firmianus [Firmilianus], and Gregory, and others in 2 books, including letters pertaining to the affair of Origen in the second book; Letters to various people in 9 books;  
 Other letters in 2 books; Letter in Origen's own defense in 2 books [or, "in the second book"].<sup>213</sup>

*Pantaenus* In the reign of Commodus, Pantaenus was reportedly the head of the catechetical school at Alexandria (*HE* V.10).<sup>214</sup> According to Eusebius, Pantaenus "interpreted the treasures of divine doctrine orally and in writing." None of Pantaenus' treatises, however, is listed, and Eusebius' observations at *HE* V.11 about how Clement of Alexandria was one of Pantaenus' students may suggest that Eusebius' information about Pantaenus derives from Clement rather than from Pantaenus' own writings, if such existed.<sup>215</sup>

*Papias of Hierapolis* Eusebius introduces the writings of Papias of Hierapolis at the end of the third book of the *HE*.<sup>216</sup> Eusebius first

<sup>213</sup> The text regarding Origen's letters is problematic; see P. Nautin, *Lettres et écritains chrétiens*, pp. 233–240. Nautin would omit the second collection of Origen's letters, that "in 2 books," as part of the collection in nine books. Nautin, followed by H. Crouzel, *Origen*, pp. 37–39, translates *excerpta* as "scholia," and that practice is followed here, too.

<sup>214</sup> A. van den Hoek, "The 'Catechetical' School of Early Christian Alexandria and Its Philonic Heritage," *HTR* 90 (1997), pp. 77–79, offers plausible reasons to accept Pantaenus as a priest whose service to the church in Alexandria involved catechetical instruction.

<sup>215</sup> *HE* V.10.4: ζώση φωνῇ καὶ διὰ γραμμάτων τοὺς τῶν θεῶν δογματῶν θησαυροὺς ὑπομνηατιζόμενος. At *HE* V.11.1 Eusebius notes that Clement names Pantaenus as his teacher in the *Hypotyposesis*; at *HE* V.11.2 Eusebius quotes from Clement's *Stromateis* for a possible reference to Pantaenus. A. Harnack, *Geschichte der altchr. Lit.*, Second edition (Leipzig, 1958), I.1, pp. 293–294, is sceptical that Pantaenus ever wrote any treatises.

<sup>216</sup> Eusebius calls Papias the bishop of Hierapolis at *HE* III.36.2. There is much scholarship on Papias because of his proximity to the apostles and his information about the Gospels of Matthew and Mark. See W. R. Schoedel, "Papias," *ANRW*

quotes Irenaeus for an identification of Papias and then provides three quotations from Papias' work, criticism of Papias' text, and summary of other information in Papias (*HE* III.39).

At the beginning of the chapter Eusebius states: "And of Papias' books, there are extant five in number, which he entitled *Exposition of the Lord's Oracles*," τοῦ δὲ Παπία συγγράμματα πέντε τὸν ἀριθμὸν φέρεται, ἃ καὶ ἐπιτέγραπται Λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεως. The nature of Papias' *Exposition of the Lord's Oracles* is still debated, so few fragments of it having survived, but it seems to have interpreted Jesus' sayings (in the Gospels, especially of Matthew) and added material from oral tradition.<sup>217</sup> Eusebius probably attests to his possession of the complete work when he says that the five books "are extant." B. Gustafsson, however, suggests that Eusebius did not even use Papias directly, that he instead relied on Clement of Alexandria's *Hypotyposes*.<sup>218</sup> Gustafsson bases his hypothesis on the observation that Eusebius does not name the exact books from which Papias' quotations are drawn. But Eusebius notes that his first extract, at least, comes from the preface of Papias' work. Moreover, Eusebius seems to indicate a firsthand knowledge of Papias' work at *HE* III.39.7, for here, in order to prove that Papias was a disciple of Aristion and John the elder, Eusebius cites Papias' frequent references to Aristion and John in his books.<sup>219</sup> Rather than work through an intermediary (or excerpts), Eusebius probably sought out a copy of Papias' *Exposition* because he knew of Irenaeus' respect for Papias as an ἀρχαῖος ἀνὴρ.<sup>220</sup> Eusebius quoted this very judgment of Irenaeus at *HE* III.39.1, even though

II.27.1 (1993), pp. 235–270; U. H. J. Körtner, *Papias von Hierapolis: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des frühen Christentums* (Göttingen, 1983).

<sup>217</sup> W. R. Schoedel, *ANRW* (1993), pp. 245–247; U. H. J. Körtner, *Papias von Hierapolis*, pp. 151–172.

<sup>218</sup> B. Gustafsson, "Eusebius' Principles in Handling his Sources," *Studia Patristica* 4 (1961), p. 432. Clement's *Hypotyposes* survives in fragments, and there is no evidence to verify Gustafsson's suggestion.

<sup>219</sup> *HE* III.39.7: ὀνομαστί γοῦν πολλάκις αὐτῶν μνημονεύσας ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῦ συγγράμμασιν τίθησιν αὐτῶν παραδόσεις. ("Certainly he mentions them by name frequently in his treatises and sets forth their traditions" [trans. Oulton].) W. R. Schoedel, *ANRW* (1993), p. 252, note 37, admits that "if Eusebius can be trusted in what he says here, then he or someone very close to him did read Papias." Cf. also *HE* III.39.14, in which Eusebius refers interested readers (φιλομαθεῖς) to Papias' text for the traditions of Aristion and John.

<sup>220</sup> Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.*, 5.33.3–4. R. M. Grant, "Papias in Eusebius' Church History," *Mélanges Henri-Charles Puech* (Paris, 1974), p. 212, in rejecting Gustafsson's suggestion, provides this argument.

Eusebius himself, no doubt after reading the *Exposition*, disputed Papias' relationship to the apostles and his millenarian views.

*Paschal Controversy Dossier* At *HE* V.23 Eusebius introduces the Paschal Controversy between Rome and the Asian churches, about which "there were synods and assemblies of bishops on this matter, and all of them unanimously defined in their letters the ecclesiastical dogma for those everywhere."<sup>221</sup> A collection of these letters furnished Eusebius with his information about the controversy. Eusebius lists the contents of this collection at *HE* V.23.3, introducing the list with the word φέρεται, an indication that he possessed the letters he names: (1) a letter of those assembled in Palestine, with Theophilus of Caesarea and Narcissus of Jerusalem presiding; (2) a letter of those at Rome, with Victor the bishop; (3) a letter of those in Pontus, over whom Palmas presided; (4) a letter from the dioceses of Gaul of which Irenaeus was bishop; (5) a letter from those at Osroene and the cities there;<sup>222</sup> (6) a personal letter from Bacchylus, the bishop of Corinth; (7) and letter(s) of numerous others.<sup>223</sup>

One letter that Eusebius could have included by name in his list is that of Polycrates of Ephesus, which was sent to Victor of Rome. Eusebius quotes twice from this letter in the next chapter (*HE* V.24.2–7

<sup>221</sup> *HE* V.23.2: σύνοδοι δὴ καὶ συγκροτήσεις ἐπισκόπων ἐπὶ ταῦτόν ἐγίνοντο, πάντες τε μιᾷ γνώμῃ δι' ἐπιστολῶν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν δόγμα τοῖς πανταχόσε διευτυπουντο. . . .

<sup>222</sup> Rufinus omits this fifth letter from his translation of the *HE*, an omission that has led W. Bauer, *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity* (Philadelphia, 1971), p. 9, followed by S. Brock, "Eusebius and Syriac Christianity," *Eusebius, Christianity, and Judaism*, H. W. Attridge and G. Hata, edd. (Leiden, 1992), p. 222 and note 27, to reject the letter's existence as an interpolation.

<sup>223</sup> *HE* V.23.3: φέρεται δ' εἰς ἔτι νῦν τῶν κατὰ Παλαιστίνην τηνικάδε συγκεκροτημένων γραφῇ, ὃν προντέτακτο Θεόφιλος τῆς ἐν Καισαρείᾳ παροικίας ἐπίσκοπος καὶ Νάρκισσος τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Ῥώμῃς δ' ὁμοίως ἄλλη περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ζητήματος, ἐπίσκοπον Βίκτορα δηλοῦσα, τῶν τε κατὰ Πόντον ἐπισκόπων, ὃν Πάλμας ὡς ἀρχαιότατος προντέτακτο, καὶ τῶν κατὰ Γαλλίαν δὲ παροικίων, ὃς Εἰρηναῖος ἐπεσκόπει, [4] ἔτι τε τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ὀσροηνὴν καὶ τὰς ἐκεῖσε πόλεις, καὶ ἰδίως Βακχύλλου τῆς Κορινθίων ἐκκλησίας ἐπισκόπου, καὶ πλείστον ὅσων ἄλλων. . . . ("Now there is still extant to this day a letter from those who were then assembled in Palestine, over whom Theophilus, bishop of the community at Caesarea, and Narcissus, of Jerusalem, presided; and likewise another also from those at Rome, on the same question, which indicates that Victor was bishop; [another] too from the bishops in Pontus, over whom Palmas, as the oldest, had presided; and also [another] from the communities in Gaul, over which Irenaeus was bishop; [another] moreover from the bishops in Osroene and the cities in that part; as well as a personal letter from Bacchylus, bishop of the church of the Corinthians; and from great numbers of others . . ." [trans. Oulton].)

and 8) to illustrate the Quartodeciman position.<sup>224</sup> Polycrates' letter was dispatched in response to one sent by Victor of Rome, but it is unclear whether Eusebius possessed Victor's original letter. If the Paschal Controversy began at Rome because of differences between an Asian community of Christians at Rome and other Roman Christians, then Eusebius' letter of Victor (the second letter in his list) may have concerned this local problem.<sup>225</sup> Eusebius' summary of Victor's reaction at *HE* V.24.9, in which Victor apparently declares the Asian churches excommunicated, may then derive from Victor's reply to Polycrates, although it is unknown whether Eusebius actually knew this text directly.<sup>226</sup> However that may be, Eusebius possessed at least one letter from Victor and the church at Rome.

Two passages of a letter sent by Irenaeus to Victor are transcribed at *HE* V.24.12–13 and 14–17. This letter must be that listed fourth in Eusebius' catalogue. After quoting from Irenaeus' letter, Eusebius notes that Irenaeus exchanged letters with other leaders of churches, and, although Eusebius does not explicitly state that he possesses such letters, it is possible that some of this correspondence is included in Eusebius' earlier generic claim to having letters of "very many others" (*HE* V.23.4).<sup>227</sup>

<sup>224</sup> Part of this first quotation, *HE* V.24.2–3, is earlier quoted at *HE* III.31.3.

<sup>225</sup> See N. Zernov, "Eusebius and the Paschal Controversy at the End of the Second Century," *Church Quarterly Review* 231 (1933), pp. 24–41, esp. p. 39. The actual events of this controversy, and particularly the structure of the Church at this time, are, for lack of evidence, unsettled questions. Sometimes scholars strain to give a coherent picture of what Eusebius records: A. Brent, *Hippolytus and the Roman Church in the Third Century*, Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae 31 (Leiden, 1995), p. 414, treats Eusebius with unjustified scepticism, for example, when he implies that Eusebius went as far as to falsify the second passage excerpted from Polycrates in which Victor orders Polycrates to call an Asian synod. At *HE* V.23.2 (quoted above in note), because the unanimity of the synodal decisions is contradicted by the documents Eusebius quotes, it is legitimate to suppose that Eusebius later added the element of unanimity (as W. L. Petersen, "Eusebius and the Paschal Controversy," *Eusebius, Christianity, and Judaism* [Leiden, 1992], pp. 319–320, seems to think), but the same need not be true of Eusebius' reference to synods (*pace* Petersen, p. 320), some of whose letters were in Eusebius' possession.

<sup>226</sup> P. Nautin, *Lettres et écrivains chrétiens* (Paris, 1961), pp. 75–77, suggests that Eusebius drew on Irenaeus' own report of Victor's actions in the letter Irenaeus sent to Victor (part of which letter Eusebius quotes at *HE* V.24.12–13 and 14–17).

<sup>227</sup> *HE* V.24.18: Εἰρηναῖος . . . οὐ μόνῳ τῷ βίκτορι, καὶ διαφόροις δὲ πλείστοις ἄρχουσιν ἐκκλησιῶν τὰ κατάλληλα δι' ἐπιστολῶν περὶ τοῦ κεκινημένου ζητήματος ὁμίλει. ("Irenaeus . . . corresponded by letter not only with Victor, but also with very many and various rulers of churches, in a fitting manner, on the question which had been raised" [trans. Oulton]).



At *HE* V.25 Eusebius excerpts the end of a letter from a synod held in Palestine. This letter may be identified with that named first in Eusebius' list. It is a matter of speculation where this synod was held and who was the president. In the catalogue (*HE* V.23.3) Eusebius names Theophilus of Caesarea first, and then Narcissus of Jerusalem, while in the introduction to the synodal letter (*HE* V.25) Eusebius reverses the order. The synod also included a bishop from Tyre and a bishop from Ptolemais, both from outside the imperial province of Judaea. While the synod may thus not have been held at Caesarea simply because Caesarea was the provincial capital, there is still no reason to assume, as Nautin does, that the synod took place in Jerusalem and that therefore Eusebius must have also found the entire collection of letters on the Paschal Controversy in Alexander's library at Jerusalem.<sup>228</sup> Even had the synod been held at a location other than Caesarea, Theophilus would surely have brought back a copy of the synodal letter.

The extract from the Palestinian synod explains how Eusebius obtained the collection of letters on the Paschal Controversy. The bishops declare: "Try to send copies of our letter to every diocese. . . ."<sup>229</sup> Presumably, the other letters in the collection were originally sent not only to Victor in Rome but also to other churches. Such would be the case for the letters from Pontus, Osrhoene, and Bachyllus of Corinth, as well as for the letters of Victor, Polycrates, and Irenaeus. A century separates the Paschal Controversy from Eusebius, however, and, over the course of that century, any number of these individual letters could have been acquired for inclusion in Eusebius' dossier at Caesarea.

*Paul of Samosata* Eusebius reports at *HE* VII.27–30 how Paul of Samosata, the bishop of Antioch, was deposed because of his heretical view of Christ. While there were apparently several synods held to decide Paul's status in the Church, Eusebius makes use of material from only the "final synod," dating probably to 268.<sup>230</sup> At *HE*

<sup>228</sup> Cf. P. Nautin, *Lettres et écrivains chrétiens*, p. 89; A. Brent, *Hippolytus*, p. 413.

<sup>229</sup> *HE* V.25: τῆς δ' ἐπιστολῆς ἡμῶν πειράσθητε κατὰ πᾶσαν παροικίαν ἀντίγραφῳ διαπέμψασθαι. . . . Cf. *HE* V.23.2.

<sup>230</sup> *HE* VII.29.1: τελευταίας συγκροτηθείσης . . . συνόδου. For references to prior synods, see *HE* VII.28.2 and 30.4–5. Dionysius of Alexandria was invited to an earlier synod but died before he could attend it, in the twelfth year of Gallienus



VII.30.2–17 Eusebius quotes from a letter sixteen of the synod's members addressed to Dionysius of Rome and Maximus of Alexandria and sent to all the provinces. Because Theotecnus of Caesarea participated in the synod (*HE* VII.28.1 and 30.2), it is likely that Theotecnus was responsible for bringing a copy of the synodal letter back to the library at Caesarea. Appended to the letter was a copy of an epistle that Dionysius of Alexandria sent to the synod in lieu of his presence (*HE* VII.27.2 and 30.3). Furthermore, according to Eusebius' introduction to it, the letter described the "testings and interrogations" of Paul.<sup>231</sup> In the letter itself the bishops allude to written evidence of Paul's opinions, probably a record of the synod's proceedings, including the "testings and interrogations" of Paul.<sup>232</sup> Like Dionysius' epistle, this record was probably appended to the synodal letter. Part of these "testings and interrogations" was a transcript of the presbyter (and sophist) Malchion's debate with Paul, since Eusebius reports that Malchion had stenographers at hand for the investigation, and Eusebius knew the record of the debate to be still "extant."<sup>233</sup>

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(*HE* VII.27.2 and 28.3): this was probably in 264. The letter of the final synod is addressed to Dionysius of Rome, who died in 268. For other evidence that the final synod took place in 268, see F. Millar, "Paul of Samosata, Zenobia, and Aurelian: the Church, Local Culture and Political Allegiance in Third-Century Syria," *JRS* 61 (1971), p. 11.

<sup>231</sup> *HE* VII.30.1: . . . ποιμένες . . . τὴν αὐτῶν τε σπουδὴν τοῖς πᾶσιν φανεράν καθιστάντες καὶ τοῦ Παύλου τὴν διάστροφον ἑτεροδοξίαν, ἐλέγχους καὶ ἐρωτήσεις ὥς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνκεκινήκασιν, καὶ ἔτι τὸν πάντα βίον τε καὶ τρόπον τοῦ ἀνδρὸς διηγούμενοι ("the pastors . . . making clear to all both their own zeal and Paul's twisted heterodoxy, and the testings and interrogations they had of him, setting out in detail both the man's whole life and his conduct").

<sup>232</sup> *HE* VII.30.11: . . . καὶ τοῦτο οὐ λόγῳ ψιλῷ ῥηθήσεται, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν ἐπέμψαμεν ὑπομνημάτων δείκνυται πολλαχόθεν . . . ("not only will this be said by mere speech, but it is also shown in many places in the notes we have sent").

<sup>233</sup> *HE* VII.29.2: μάλιστα δ' αὐτὸν εὐθύνας ἐπικρυπτόμενον διήλεγξεν Μαλχίων. . . . οὗτός γέ τοι ἐπισημειούμενον ταχυγράφων ζήτησιν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐνστήσάμενος, ἦν καὶ εἰς δεῦρο φερομένην ἴσμεν. . . . ("Malchion in particular refuted him, as he [Paul] concealed the evidence against him [or, as he evaded the accusations against him]. . . . In truth, this man [Malchion] had stenographers taking notes of the debate he had with him [Paul], a debate that we know is still extant even to this day.") H. de Riedmatten, *Les actes du procès de Paul de Samosate: étude sur la christologie du II<sup>e</sup> au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paradosis 6 (Fribourg, 1952), has collected texts from the fifth and sixth century that illustrate Paul's teaching. These texts may derive from the synod's acts, including such debates as Malchion's with Paul. While M. Richard, "Malchion et Paul de Samosate: le témoignage d'Eusèbe de Césarée," *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 35 (1959), pp. 325–338, has argued against the reliability of de Riedmatten's fragments, see the defense of Riedmatten by M. Simonetti, "Per la rivoltazione di alcune testimonianze su Paulo di Samosata," *RSLR* 24 (1988), pp. 177–210, and

*Phileas of Thmuis* At *HE* VIII.10 Eusebius quotes from a letter sent by Phileas, bishop of Thmuis, to his flock in Thmuis. When he wrote to the Thmuites, Phileas was apparently imprisoned at Alexandria, where he would later die a martyr (4 February 307).<sup>234</sup> It is unclear how Eusebius obtained this letter, but since Phileas was martyred in Alexandria before Eusebius visited Egypt, Eusebius could have obtained the letter during his flight to Egypt in 311–313.<sup>235</sup>

*Pierius of Alexandria* Eusebius names as one of his prominent contemporaries the Alexandrian presbyter Pierius (*HE* VII.32.26). According to Jerome and Photius, he was called “Origen Junior,” and according to Photius he was Pamphilus’ teacher.<sup>236</sup> Eusebius reports only that Pierius was well known for his poverty and his learning in philosophy, his study and exegesis of Scripture, and his discourses in church.<sup>237</sup> These discourses (διαλέξεις) were probably homilies, of which Jerome and Photius both apparently knew examples.<sup>238</sup> Pamphilus can be expected to have brought such homilies to Caesarea. If

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“Paulo di Samosata e Malchione: riesame di alcune testimonianze,” in *Hestiasis: studi di tarda antichità offerti a Salvatore Calderone*, Studi tardo antichi 1–2 (Messina, 1986/1988), supplemented by C. Stead, “Marcel Richard on Malchion and Paul of Samosata,” *Logos: Festschrift für Luise Abramowski zum 8. Juli 1993*, H. C. Brennecke, et al., edd. (Berlin, 1993), pp. 140–150, who discusses the translation of *HE* VII.29.2. Because the synodal letter in Eusebius’ possession likely had attached to it not only Dionysius of Alexandria’s letter but also such *acta* as the transcript of Malchion’s interrogation of Paul, there is no need to doubt that Eusebius knew firsthand the text of Malchion’s debate, as G. Bardy does at *Paul de Samosate: étude historique*, Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, Études et Documents, fasc. 4 (Louvain, 1923), p. 12.

<sup>234</sup> Phileas describes the martyrdoms in Alexandria, which he presumably knew firsthand (*HE* VIII.10.1). For the date, see Lawlor and Oulton, II.276–277.

<sup>235</sup> This suggestion of Lawlor and Oulton, II.2. Certainly, Eusebius will have acquired the letter by the time he put it into his *HE*, the second edition of which (the one that comprised the extant Book VIII) was composed ca. 315–316.

<sup>236</sup> Jerome, *De viris ill.* 76; Photius, *cod.* 119.

<sup>237</sup> *HE* VII.32.27: ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν ἄκρως ἀκτήμονι βίῳ καὶ μαθήμασιν φιλοσόφοις δεδοκίμαστο, ταῖς περὶ τὰ θεῖα θεωρίαις καὶ ἐξηγήσεσιν καὶ ταῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ κοινού τῆς ἐκκλησίας διαλέξεσιν ὑπερφανῶς ἐξησκημένος. (“The former of these [Pierius] had been noted for his life of extreme poverty and for his learning in philosophy. He was exceedingly well practised in the deeper study of divine things and in expositions thereof, as well as in his public discourses in church” [trans. Oulton].)

<sup>238</sup> Jerome, *De viris ill.* 76, says that Pierius was known for his eloquence and *tractatus, qui usque hodie extant* and then refers to a *tractatus* on the Prophet Hosea given on the Easter Vigil. Jerome’s citation (*Ep.* 49.3) of Pierius’ explication of 1 Cor. 1:7 may come from a homily (as P. Courcelle, *Late Latin Writers*, p. 113, thinks). Photius, *cod.* 119, knows of a work of twelve λόγοι and also names a work on Easter and the Prophet Hosea. Cf. also Palladius, *Hist. laus.* 12 and 14.

Jerome's report that Pierius was responsible for a version of the Gospel of Matthew can be trusted, perhaps Pamphilus also acquired this and similar biblical manuscripts arranged by Pierius.<sup>239</sup> Whether the library at Caesarea contained any other works by Pierius is uncertain, but it would not be surprising if Eusebius at least obtained for his library a copy of Pierius' *Life of Pamphilus*.<sup>240</sup>

*Polycarp of Smyrna and Other Passiones* Having introduced Polycarp of Smyrna at *HE* III.36.1 as one of the distinguished churchmen of the reign of Trajan, Eusebius returns to a fuller description of him at *HE* IV.14–15. Polycarp's letter to the church at Philippi, which served as an introduction to the letters of Ignatius of Antioch and which Eusebius mentions at *HE* IV.14.9, was, as it is argued above in the entry on Ignatius, in Eusebius' possession at Caesarea along with Ignatius' letters.<sup>241</sup> Similarly, Eusebius used firsthand a copy of the *Epistula Smyrnaeorum*, the account of Polycarp's martyrdom (probably in ca. 155–157) composed by the church at Smyrna for the church at Philomelium and the greater Church.<sup>242</sup> Introducing the story of Polycarp's martyrdom, Eusebius explains, "I deem it absolutely necessary that [the account of] his end, which is still extant in writing, be recorded in this history."<sup>243</sup> That the account of Polycarp's martyrdom "is still extant in writing" is clear from Eusebius' exten-

<sup>239</sup> P. Courcelle, *Late Latin Writers*, p. 113, points out this passage in Jerome, *In Matt.* 4.24.36: *In quibusdam Latinis codicibus additum est 'neque Filius,' cum in Graecis et maxime Adamantii et Pierii exemplaribus hoc non habeatur adscriptum.* ("In certain Latin codices there is added 'neque Filius,' when in the Greek, especially in the exemplars of Adamantius and Pierius, this is not considered to be added.")

<sup>240</sup> According to Philip of Side's Christian history (fragments in C. de Boor, *TU* 5.2 [Leipzig, 1888], pp. 165–184), Pierius composed a *Life of Pamphilus* as well as works on the Mother of God and on the Gospel of Luke. Photius, *cod.* 119 also bears witness to a work on the Gospel of Luke.

<sup>241</sup> For this reason, R. M. Grant's suggestion that Polycarp's letter to the Philippians was transmitted with the account of Polycarp's martyrdom, such that "a collection of materials related to Polycarp was coming into existence," should be rejected (*Eusebius as Church Historian*, p. 116).

<sup>242</sup> On the modern scholarship on Polycarp's martyrdom, including its date, cf. W. R. Schoedel, "Polycarp of Smyrna and Ignatius of Antioch," *ANRW* II.27.1 (1993), pp. 349–358; and B. Dehandschutter, "The Martyrdom of Polycarp: a Century of Research," *ANRW* II.27.1 (1993), pp. 485–522. It is unknown whether Eusebius' copy of the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* included the paragraph (chapter 21) on the date of the martyrdom.

<sup>243</sup> *HE* IV.15.1: ἀναγκαιότατον δ' αὐτοῦ τὸ τέλος ἐγγράφως ἔτι φερόμενον ἡγοῦμαι δεῖν μνήμη τῆσδε ἱστορίας καταθέσθαι. The translation is Oulton's, slightly altered.

sive use of it: he quotes the beginning of the account (*HE* IV.15.3 = *M.Pol.* 1.1), summarizes the next five chapters (*HE* IV.15.4–14 on *M.Pol.* 2.2–7.3), and then quotes most of the remaining text (*HE* IV.15.15–45 = *M.Pol.* 8.1–19.1).<sup>244</sup>

Moreover, at the conclusion of his account of Polycarp's martyrdom (*HE* IV.15.46), Eusebius refers to other accounts of martyrdom at Smyrna that were attached to the passion of Polycarp.<sup>245</sup> Eusebius refers to the martyrdom of a Marcionite named Metrodorus and, at *HE* IV.15.47, summarizes the account of Pionius' martyrdom, an account that should probably be identified with the extant *Passion of Pionius* that dates to the Decian persecution.<sup>246</sup> At the end of his summary of Pionius' martyrdom, Eusebius refers the reader to a "collection of ancient martyrdoms" that he has himself compiled and that includes the *Passion of Pionius*.<sup>247</sup> (It is possible that Eusebius' *Collection of Ancient Martyrdoms* also included the martyrdom of Polycarp.) Because Pionius was martyred so near in time to Origen's own death (in or after 251), Origen cannot be responsible for bringing the *Passion of Pionius* to Caesarea or the account of Polycarp's martyrdom, if it is assumed that the two martyrdoms reached Caesarea in that same

<sup>244</sup> There have been numerous investigations of the relationship between Eusebius' text of the martyrdom of Polycarp and the account transmitted through medieval manuscripts. In his recent edition of the text, B. Dehandschutter concludes that, because Eusebius uses the account so freely and because the MSS of Eusebius show variants from both of the significant families of MSS from which derive the extant account of Polycarp's martyrdom, one cannot judge whether Eusebius' version differed from the one that survives. See Dehandschutter, *Martyrium Polycarpi: een literair-kritische studie*, BETL 52 (Leuven, 1979), with conclusions restated in *ANRW* II.27.1 (1993).

<sup>245</sup> *HE* IV.15.46: ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ [Polycarp] γραφῇ καὶ ἄλλα συνήπτο κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν Σμύρναν πεπραγμένα ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτὴν περίοδον τοῦ χρόνου τῆς Πολυκάρπου μαρτυρίας. . . . ("But in the same volume concerning him other martyrdoms as well were subjoined, which took place in the same Smyrna about the same period of time with Polycarp's martyrdom" [trans. Oulton].)

<sup>246</sup> The *Passion of Pionius* includes the martyrdom of Metrodorus. As the passage quoted in the previous note demonstrates, Eusebius explained that these other martyrdoms took place at the same time as Polycarp's and in the same place. Eusebius' dating of the *Passion of Pionius* is therefore incorrect: see T. D. Barnes, "Pre-Decian *Acta Martyrum*," *JTS* 19 (1968), pp. 529–531. A new edition of the *Passion* has been published posthumously by Louis Robert, *Martyrium Pionii: le martyre de Pionios, prêtre de Smyrne* (Washington, DC, 1994).

<sup>247</sup> *HE* IV.15.47: . . . τοὺς οἷς φίλον ἐπὶ ταύτῃ ἀναπέμψομεν τοῖς τῶν ἀρχαίων συναρθεῖσιν ἡμῖν μαρτυροῖς ἐντεταγμένην. ("We shall refer those who are interested in it [the martyrdom of Pionius] to the martyrdoms of the ancients that we have collected, for it has been inserted there.") A few fragments are available at PG 20: 1519–1536.

document to which Eusebius refers at the end of *HE* IV.15.46. Eusebius may have obtained these two *passiones* himself specifically for inclusion in his own *Collection of Ancient Martyrdoms*.

A third account of martyrdoms is named at *HE* IV.15.48, after Eusebius' reference to his own *Collection of Ancient Martyrdoms*. Eusebius reports that the *Acts of Carpus, Papyrus, and Agathonice*, whose events occurred in Pergamum, ἐξῆς δὲ . . . φέρεται, "next after this . . . are extant." Although Eusebius does not describe this account, it was evidently also available at Caesarea. Eusebius' use of ἐξῆς probably implies that this account was included in the same manuscript as the martyrdoms of Polycarp and Pionius.<sup>248</sup> Eusebius, however, does not claim to have included these *acta* in his *Collection of Ancient Martyrdoms*, and it is unknown whether he did so.<sup>249</sup>

Elsewhere in the *HE* Eusebius refers to two additional *passiones* that were included in his *Collection of Ancient Martyrdoms*. The last mentioned may more conveniently be taken first. At *HE* V.21.2–5 Eusebius summarizes the contents of an account of Apollonius' martyrdom at Rome under Commodus, referring the interested reader to his *Collection*.<sup>250</sup> This martyrdom is still extant, although Eusebius' version

<sup>248</sup> Cf. H. J. Lawlor, *Eusebiana* (Oxford, 1912), pp. 136–137 and (citing Lightfoot) p. 167; restated at Lawlor and Oulton, II.136–137. Lawlor reasonably supposes that Eusebius' incorrect dating of the *Passion of Pionius* was caused by its inclusion with these other martyrdoms, which Eusebius placed in the reign of Marcus Aurelius. Lawlor's case can be strengthened by reference to Eusebius' pairing of the martyrdoms of Polycarp and Pionius in his *Chronicon* (p. 205c Helm; both misdated to 167): *Persecutione orta in Asia Polycarpus et Pionius fecere martyrium, quorum scriptae quoque passiones feruntur*. The association of Polycarp and Pionius in the *Chronicon*, however, is not entirely secure: see R. M. Grant, "Eusebius and the Martyrs of Gaul," *Les martyrs de Lyon (177)*, Colloques internationaux du CNRS 575 (Paris, 1978), p. 130. See also T. D. Barnes, *JTS* (1968), p. 515, who argues that the *Acts of Carpus, Papyrus, and Agathonice* are probably Decian (traditionally this account is dated to Marcus Aurelius because two emperors are mentioned); see also p. 529 for the inference that the manuscript used by Eusebius was a "collection of documents relating to Asian martyrs." G. Bardy, *SC* #31 (Paris, 1952), p. 189, note 15, posits only a collection of acts of martyrs assembled at Smyrna and including the martyrdoms of Polycarp and Pionius.

<sup>249</sup> R. M. Grant in *Les Martyrs de Lyon (177)*, pp. 130–131, supposes that Eusebius did not include the *Acts of Carpus, Papyrus, and Agathonice* in his *Collection of Ancient Martyrdoms* because Eusebius intended to discourage voluntary martyrdoms and Agathonice commits apparent suicide, but in his *Eusebius as Church Historian* (Oxford, 1980), p. 116, Grant is more cautious and leaves the matter in doubt.

<sup>250</sup> *HE* V.21.5: τοῦτου [Apollonius] . . . φωνὰς . . . ἀποκρίσεις . . . ἀπολογία, ὅτῳ διαγνῶναι φίλον, ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἀρχαίων μαρτύρων συναχθείσης ἡμῖς ἀναγραφῆς εἴσεται. ("Anyone inclined to read through his [Apollonius'] words . . . answers . . . defence, may encounter them in the collection we put together of ancient martyrs.")

seems to have been different from the versions that have survived.<sup>251</sup>

Earlier, at *HE* V.praef.2, Eusebius introduces a work, σύγγραμμα, that he inserted into his *Collection*.<sup>252</sup> This σύγγραμμα comprises a letter sent from the churches of Lyons and Vienne to the churches of Asia and Phrygia to render account of the martyrdoms that occurred at Lyons in ca. 177. Eusebius, the sole witness to this letter, quotes from it at length at *HE* V.1–2. An additional story that Eusebius relates at *HE* V.3.1–3 about two of the martyrs, Attalus and Alcibiades, also seems to have formed part of the Gallic martyrs' letter.<sup>253</sup> Similarly, a list of the martyrs at Lyons to which Eusebius refers at *HE* V.4.3 was probably appended to the Gallic martyrs' letter.<sup>254</sup> After citing this list of martyrs, Eusebius again refers the interested reader to his *Collection of Ancient Martyrdoms* for the σύγγραμμα, that is, for the complete letter of the Gallic martyrs.<sup>255</sup>

Eusebius' information on the Gallic martyrs extended beyond the simple account of the martyrdoms, however. At *HE* V.3.4 Eusebius

<sup>251</sup> On the variations between Eusebius' summary and the Armenian and Greek versions, see T. D. Barnes, *JTS* (1968), pp. 520–521. See also R. M. Grant, *Eusebius as Church Historian* (Oxford, 1980), pp. 119–121. In his "Legislation against the Christians," *JRS* 58 (1968), pp. 46–48, Barnes persuasively argues that the *Acta Apollonii* is a conflation of the record of Apollonius' trial and an apology that Apollonius wrote earlier. While E. Gabba, "Il processo di Apollonio," *Mélanges J. Carcopino* (Paris, 1966), pp. 398–399, suggests that Eusebius possessed the record of the trial as well as the apology, it seems more plausible that Eusebius knew only the conflated account of Apollonius' martyrdom.

<sup>252</sup> Eusebius introduces the fifth book of the *HE* with a persecution dated to the episcopacy of Eleutherus at Rome and the reign of "Antoninus Verus." Eusebius indicates his possession of an account of this persecution at *HE* V.praef.1: . . . ἃ καὶ γραφῇ τοῖς μετέπειτα παραδοθῆναι, ἀλήστου μνήμης ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐπάξια ὄντα, συμβέβηκεν ("[events that] have been transmitted in writing to posterity, as being in truth worthy of undying remembrance" [trans. Oulton]). Immediately thereafter, at *HE* V.praef.2, Eusebius refers to his *Collection of Ancient Martyrdoms*: τῆς μὲν οὖν περὶ τούτων ἐντελεστάτης ὑφηγήσεως τὸ πᾶν σύγγραμμα τῇ τῶν μαρτύρων ἡμῖν κατατέτακται συναγωγῇ, οὐχ ἱστορικὴν αὐτὸ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ διδασκαλικὴν περιέχον διήγησιν. ("Now the treatise which gives the most complete account of them has been inserted in its entirety in our *Collection of Martyrs*, comprising a narrative not only of historical value, but also full of teaching" [trans. Oulton].)

<sup>253</sup> Eusebius introduces the story with the words: ἡ δ' αὐτῇ προειρημένων μαρτύρων γραφή. . . . This γραφή is presumably the same letter quoted at *HE* V.1–2.

<sup>254</sup> *HE* V.4.3: τί δεῖ καταλέγειν τὸν ἐν τῇ δηλωθείσῃ γραφῇ τῶν μαρτύρων κατάλογον . . . ; The "aforementioned writing" is presumably the letter of the Gallic martyrs.

<sup>255</sup> *HE* V.4.3: ὅτῳ γὰρ φίλον, καὶ ταῦτα ῥάδιον πληρέστατα διαγινῶναι μετὰ χεῖρας ἀναλαβόντι τὸ σύγγραμμα, ὃ καὶ αὐτὸ τῇ τῶν μαρτύρων συναγωγῇ πρὸς ἡμῶν, ὡς γοῦν ἔφην, κατεῖλεται. ("For anyone who so wishes may easily obtain the fullest knowledge of these matters also, by taking up the treatise itself, which we have inserted, as I said, in the *Collection of Martyrs*" [trans. Oulton].)

refers to two other letters sent by the Gallic martyrs, one to the churches of Asia and Phrygia and one to Eleutherus, the bishop of Rome, but both letters directed against the Montanist heresy and toward the “peace of the churches.”<sup>256</sup> Eusebius quotes from the beginning of the letter to Pope Eleutherus, which introduces Irenaeus of Lyons to Eleutherus, at *HE* V.4.1–2, a brief proof of Eusebius’ possession of the letter. These two letters on the “peace of the churches” were likely attached to Eusebius’ copy of the letter of the Gallic martyrs on the persecution at Lyons (quoted at *HE* V.1–2 as well as 3.1–3 and including the list of martyrs) and thus formed a dossier of letters by the Gallic martyrs.<sup>257</sup> From this dossier Eusebius obviously drew the lengthy account of the martyrdoms and the list of martyrs for his own *Collection of Ancient Martyrdoms*, but when he composed the *HE* Eusebius turned to consult the original source of his information, the full dossier of letters by the Gallic martyrs, and for this reason made reference to the two letters concerning Montanism.<sup>258</sup>

<sup>256</sup> *HE* V.3.4: . . . καὶ δὴ διαφωνίας ὑπαρχούσης περὶ τῶν δεδηλωμένων [the Montanists], αὐθις οἱ κατὰ τὴν Γαλλίαν ἀδελφοὶ τὴν ἰδίαν κρίσιν καὶ περὶ τούτων εὐλάβη καὶ ὀρθοδοξοτάτην ὑποτάττουσιν ἐκθέμενοι καὶ τῶν παρ’ αὐτοῖς τελειωθέντων μαρτύρων διαφόρους ἐπιστολάς, . . . τῆς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν εἰρήνης ἕνεκα πρεσβεύοντες. (“And when a dissension arose about these said persons [the Montanists], the brethren in Gaul once more submitted a pious and most orthodox judgment of their own on this matter also, issuing as well various letters of martyrs who had been perfected among them . . . negotiating for the peace of the churches” [trans. Oulton].) P. Nautin, *Lettres et écritains chrétiens* (Paris, 1961), pp. 39–49, is notable among modern scholars for rejecting Eusebius’ testimony here that the Gallic martyrs composed these two letters to combat Montanism. His own reconstruction of why the Gallic martyrs sent letters to Asia and Phrygia and to Rome, however, is difficult to believe and, in any case, cannot be proved. The Gallic martyrs’ opposition to Montanism is apparent in Eusebius’ approbation of their “pious and most orthodox” judgment.

<sup>257</sup> H. J. Lawlor neglects this dossier of works by the Gallic martyrs in his essay “On the Use by Eusebius of Volumes of Tracts” in *Eusebiana* (Oxford, 1912). P. Nautin, *Lettres et écrivains chrétiens* (Paris, 1961), p. 49, believes that the two additional letters were appended to the first letter on the martyrdoms, although Nautin’s translation of Eusebius’ ἐκθέμενοι at *HE* V.3.4 as “ils citent” is dubious. W. A. Löhr, “Der Brief der Gemeinden von Lyon und Vienne (Eusebius, h.e. V, 1–2(4)),” *Oecumenica et Patristica: Festschrift für Wilhelm Schneemelcher zum 75. Geburtstag*, D. Papandreou et al., edd. (Stuttgart, 1989), pp. 135–136, speaks of a dossier on the Gallic martyrs, but he questions whether the episode between Attalus and Alcibiades and the list of martyrs are not separate documents. Löhr understands the words σύγγραμμα and γραφή at *HE* V.praef.2; 3.1; and 4.3, for example, as references to Eusebius’ own *Collection of Ancient Martyrdoms*.

<sup>258</sup> That Eusebius consulted the original works of the Gallic martyrs need not exclude the possibility that he also had his *Collection of Ancient Martyrdoms* at hand. For example, as R. M. Grant suggests in *Eusebius as Church Historian* (Oxford, 1980),



Even if it is true, as some scholars believe,<sup>259</sup> that Irenaeus composed the letter about the persecution at Lyons, Eusebius obviously treated this letter and the two letters on Montanism as components of a dossier on the Gallic martyrs and not as part of the writings of Irenaeus, whose works are catalogued at *HE* V.26.

*Quadratus* Eusebius reports the existence of an apology written by a certain Quadratus and addressed to the emperor Hadrian at *HE* IV.3.2: "To him [Hadrian] Quadratus dedicated and addressed a discourse, which he had composed in defence of our religion. . . . The treatise is still to be found in the hands of very many of the brethren, as indeed it is in ours also."<sup>260</sup> Nothing is known of this Quadratus, for he ought not to be identified with any other Quadratus named in the *HE*.<sup>261</sup> Eusebius himself probably knew nothing of the man, but it is evident that Quadratus' *Apologia* was available to Eusebius, since Eusebius explains that the work was "still extant" not only with other Christians but also with himself. A single quotation (also at *HE* IV.3.2) serves as further evidence of Eusebius' firsthand use of Quadratus' *Apologia*.

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p. 117, Eusebius may have excerpted *HE* V.praef.3–4 from the introduction to the *Collection*. (Grant's suggestion here is a reversal of his opinion in *Les martyrs de Lyon* (177), p. 132, for at that time Grant thought that the preface to *HE* V was composed specifically for the *HE*.)

<sup>259</sup> For this view, cf. P. Nautin, *Lettres et écrits chrétiens* (Paris, 1961), pp. 54–61.

<sup>260</sup> *HE* IV.3.2: τοῦτῳ [Hadrian] Κοδράτος λόγον προσφωνήσας ἀναδίδωσιν, ἀπολογία συντάξας ὑπὲρ τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς θεοσεβείας. . . . εἰς ἔτι δὲ φέρεται παρὰ πλείστοις τῶν ἀδελφῶν, ἀτὰρ καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν τὸ σύγγραμμα. Cf. *Chronicon*, p. 199b Helm: *Quadratus discipulus apostolorum et Aristides Atheniensis noster philosophus libros pro Christiana religione Hadriano dedere compositos* . . . ("Quadratus, a disciple of the apostles, and Aristides of Athens, our philosopher, gave Hadrian books composed on behalf of the Christian religion"). On Aristides, see the entry on him *infra*. The exact title of Quadratus' apology on behalf of Christianity, of course, is unknown, but A. Harnack's extrapolation from Eusebius' text is as good as any: λόγος ἀπολογίας ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Χριστιανῶν θεοσεβείας ("Die Apologien des Quadratus und Aristides," *Die Überlieferung der griechischen Apologeten des zweiten Jahrhunderts in der alten Kirche und im Mittelalter*, TU 1 [Berlin, 1882; reprinted 1991], p. 101, note 8).

<sup>261</sup> G. Bardy, "Sur l'apologiste Quadratus," *Παγκάρπεια: Mélanges Henri Grégoire, Annuaire de l'institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves* 9 (1949), pp. 75–86, reviews the extant evidence on Quadratus. Bardy is likely correct to differentiate Quadratus the apologist from the bishop of Athens named Quadratus (*HE* IV.23.3) and the prophet Quadratus (*HE* V.17.2, mentioned by the Anonymous Anti-Montanist). The Quadratus active under Trajan and named by Eusebius at *HE* III.37.1 seems to be a conflation of the apologist and the prophet. It is unclear whether Quadratus' *Apologia* has any relationship to the *Epistula ad Diognetum*, as P. Andriessen has argued (see "The Authorship of the *Epistula ad Diognetum*," *Vigiliae Christianae* 1 [1947], pp. 129–136).



*Rhodon the Asian* At *HE* V.13 Eusebius gives an account of another notable churchman of the reign of Commodus, the Asian Rhodon, one of Tatian's students at Rome (*HE* V.13.1). Eusebius reports that Rhodon composed various books, but he quotes from only one, a treatise against the Marcionite heresy.<sup>262</sup> The extract at *HE* V.13.2–4 comes from this work, as probably do the two extracts that follow at *HE* V.13.5 and 6–7, in which Rhodon describes his discussion with a Marcionite man named Apelles. In addition to the three quotations, Eusebius reports information that he drew from this treatise of Rhodon, including that Rhodon was a pupil of Tatian and that Rhodon promised to provide the solutions to a book of “problems” related to Scripture (*HE* V.13.8). It is probably also on the basis of Rhodon, and not independent evidence, that Eusebius reported Apelles’ heretical work “in very many treatises,” διὰ πλειόνων συγγραμμάτων (*HE* V.13.9). Such use of Rhodon’s anti-Marcionite treatise suggests that Eusebius possessed a copy of it, even if he did not know its precise title. Eusebius does, however, record the existence of another of Rhodon’s titles, a work on the hexaemeron: φέρεται δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν ἑξαήμερον ὑπόμνημα (*HE* V.13.8). Although Eusebius gives no proof of his knowledge of this work, his use of the word φέρεται, “is extant,” suggests that Rhodon’s *On the Hexaemeron* was, like his anti-Marcionite treatise, available in the library at Caesarea.

*Serapion of Antioch* Having quoted from Alexander of Jerusalem’s letter to the Antiochenes on the succession of Asclepiades as their bishop (*HE* VI.11.5 and 6), Eusebius turns at *HE* VI.12 to a catalogue of the works of Serapion of Antioch, Asclepiades’ predecessor. Eusebius specifies that, while others may preserve additional works (ὑπομνήματα) by Serapion, his catalogue lists only the works that have reached him (εἰς ἡμᾶς δὲ μόνᾳ κατήλθεν).<sup>263</sup> The list begins with

<sup>262</sup> *HE* V.13.1: Ῥόδων . . . διάφορα συντάξας βιβλία, μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν καὶ πρὸς τὴν Μαρκίωνος παρατέτακται αἵρεσιν. (“Rhodon . . . having composed various books, thus ranged himself along with the rest in opposition to the heresy of Marcion” [trans. Oulton, slightly altered].)

<sup>263</sup> *HE* VI.12.1: τοῦ μὲν οὖν Σεραπίωνος τῆς περὶ λόγους ἀσκήσεως καὶ ἄλλα μὲν εἰκὸς σφῆζεσθαι παρ’ ἐτέροις ὑπομνήματα, εἰς ἡμᾶς δὲ μόνᾳ κατήλθεν . . . (“Now, it is likely, indeed, that other memoirs also, the fruit of Serapion’s literary studies, are preserved by other persons, but there have come down to us only . . .” [trans. Oulton]).

“books To Domnus” and “books to Pontius and Caricus, churchmen,” τὰ Πρὸς Δόμνον . . . καὶ τὰ Πρὸς Πόντιον καὶ Καρικόν, ἐκκλησιαστικούς ἄνδρας. At *HE* V.19 Eusebius provides three quotations from this last work, which Eusebius there describes as a letter (ἐπιστολή), although the names of the addressees are reversed (*HE* V.19.1 and 3). The first work listed, that addressed to a certain Domnus who had fallen into heresy, was presumably also a letter, an identification confirmed by Eusebius’ next statement, that Serapion wrote “other letters to others,” καὶ ἄλλαι πρὸς ἑτέρους ἐπιστολαί. Eusebius does not describe these other letters. There is also a treatise *On What Is Called the Gospel of Peter*, ἑτέρος τε συντεταγμένος αὐτῷ λόγος Περὶ τοῦ λεγομένου κατὰ Πέτρον εὐαγγελίου. Eusebius quotes briefly from this work at *HE* VI.12.3–6 to show Serapion’s low opinion of the *Gospel of Peter*.

The library at Caesarea thus contained Serapion’s *Letter to Domnus*, *Letter to Pontius and Caricus*, and letters to some unidentified persons, as well as a treatise critical of the *Gospel of Peter*.

*Succession Lists* At the beginning of his *HE* Eusebius declares his intention to record τὰς τῶν ἱερῶν ἀποστόλων διαδοχάς, “the successions of the holy apostles” (*HE* I.1.1). While in the later books, when he writes about his contemporaries, Eusebius relates information about the successions at a variety of sees, throughout his work Eusebius concentrates on four sees: Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. Only for the last of these sees does Eusebius refer to his evidence for an episcopal list. At *HE* IV.5 Eusebius reports that, “having found no dates of the bishops in Jerusalem preserved in writing (for tradition relates that they had short lives), I have ascertained this much from written documents. . . .”<sup>264</sup> Eusebius then lists fifteen names, beginning with James the Brother of the Lord. The man named third as bishop, Justus, is elsewhere (*Chronicon* p. 194f. Helm; *HE* III.32) dated to ca. 107, so that twelve bishops must be squeezed into the years between 107 and 135, when Jerusalem was destroyed.<sup>265</sup>

<sup>264</sup> *HE* IV.5.1: τῶν γε μὴν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐπισκόπων τοὺς χρόνους γραφῇ σφωζομένους οὐδαμῶς εὐρών (κομιδῇ γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν βραχυβίους αὐτοὺς λόγος κατέχει γενέσθαι), τοσούτων ἐξ ἐγγράφων παρείληφα. . . .

<sup>265</sup> A recent solution to this improbable scenario of twelve bishops’ holding office in twenty-eight years is that Eusebius inaccurately listed as bishops the names of presbyters who, according to his sources, served as the bishops’ co-workers (like Christ and his apostles). See R. van den Broek, “Der Brief des Jakobus an Quadratus und das Problem der judenchristlichen Bischöfe von Jerusalem (Eusebius, *HE*

Later, when discussing the succession after the destruction of Jerusalem, Eusebius refers to a local list of names, the “succession-lists.”<sup>266</sup> But this list of later bishops may not be the same as that used at *HE* IV.5; Eusebius seems rather to have compiled his list of the Jewish-Christian bishops from multiple sources. Apart from the list cited at *HE* V.12.2, Eusebius may have drawn on written sources such as Hegesippus,<sup>267</sup> or he may have even relied upon oral tradition at Jerusalem, since the explanation Eusebius gives of the evidence behind his list—that, according to tradition (λόγος κατέχει), the bishops were all short-lived and that, so they say (φασί), those up to the destruction of Jerusalem were all Hebrews—could suggest an oral source.

Eusebius does not claim to have separate written lists of the bishops of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch, though it is not at all impossible that Eusebius acquired such lists; Lawlor and Oulton have suggested as much in the case of the Roman bishops, at least.<sup>268</sup> He could, however, certainly have gleaned information from a number of literary sources: for Rome, Irenaeus and Hegesippus; for Alexandria, Clement of Alexandria; for Antioch, Ignatius of Antioch and Theophilus of Antioch; and for all of the sees, Julius Africanus, perhaps, and much of the correspondence between eminent churchmen.

*Tatian* At *HE* IV.29 Eusebius takes notice of the Encratite heresy, ending the chapter (IV.29.6–7) with a catalogue of the works of Tatian, the reported author of Encratism. Eusebius explains that

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IV.5,1–3),” *Text and Testimony*, T. Baarda et al., edd. (Kampen, 1988), pp. 56–65. Y. Lederman, “Les Évêques juifs de Jérusalem,” *Revue Biblique* 104 (1997), pp. 211 and 221–222, considers the men listed to be “community leaders (*episkopoi*).”

<sup>266</sup> *HE* V.12.2: αἱ τῶν αὐτόθι διαδοχαὶ περιέχουσιν . . . (“the succession-lists of those [bishops] there show . . .”).

<sup>267</sup> H. J. Lawlor, *Eusebiana*, pp. 91–94, suggests that Hegesippus may lie behind *HE* IV.5; see also Lawlor and Oulton, II.167–170. Y. Lederman, *Revue Biblique* (1997), pp. 212–215, also thinks Eusebius used Hegesippus in this passage. The evidence for this is not strong, however: Lawlor, for example, takes the phrases λόγος κατέχει and φασί as references to Hegesippus rather than indications of oral tradition. C. H. Turner, “The Early Episcopal Lists. II,” *JTS* 1 (1899–1900), p. 550 and note 2, also points out that at *DE* III.5 Eusebius again refers to local tradition about the bishops of Jerusalem rather than any source such as Hegesippus. Nevertheless, Hegesippus must have furnished some information on the bishops of Jerusalem that supplemented Eusebius’ written list. Cf. also R. M. Grant, *Eusebius as Church Historian* (Oxford, 1980), pp. 48–51, for other supplemental sources.

<sup>268</sup> See Lawlor and Oulton, II.40–46.

Tatian arranged a kind of joining together and compilation of the Gospels, I know not how, to which he gave the title *The Diatessaron*; and it is still to this day extant among some people. But they say that he dared to alter certain of the apostle's expressions, with a view to correcting the style in which they were composed. Now this writer has left behind him a great number of treatises, of which his famous book *Against the Greeks* is chiefly remembered by many.<sup>269</sup>

It will be best to begin with the last work named in the catalogue. Eusebius reports that Tatian's *Against* [or *To*] *the Greeks* is known by many, but it is not only the many who know Tatian's *Oratio ad Graecos*, for Eusebius indicates his own familiarity with the work by praising its usefulness in demonstrating how Moses and the Hebrew prophets are of greater antiquity than the Greeks. Eusebius, in fact, quotes Tatian's lengthy argument on this topic at *PE* X.11 (*Orat.* 31 and 36–42). In the *HE* (IV.16.7 and 8–9), Eusebius quotes more briefly from the *Oratio*. Together, however, Eusebius' extracts from Tatian amount to nearly one fifth of the text of the *Oratio*.<sup>270</sup> There is little reason to doubt that Eusebius used this popular treatise firsthand.

Tatian's other works, on the contrary, were probably not known to Eusebius firsthand. Eusebius instead seems only to have heard of them. Of the *Diatessaron*, a harmony of the four Gospels and the work listed first in the catalogue, Eusebius explains that he does not know how Tatian composed it. Some scholars think that Eusebius' phrase "I know not how" is meant to convey Eusebius' own wonder at how Tatian completed this project, but it is preferable to see in this phrase a disavowal of firsthand knowledge of the work.<sup>271</sup> This latter interpretation is buttressed by Eusebius' statement that

<sup>269</sup> *HE* IV.29.7: ὁ Τατιανὸς συνάφειάν τινα καὶ συναγωγὴν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως τῶν εὐαγγελίων συνθεῖς, τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων τοῦτο προσωνόμασεν, ὃ καὶ παρά τισιν εἰς ἐτι νῦν φέρεται. τοῦ δ' ἀποστόλου φασὶ τολμησαί τινας αὐτὸν μεταφράσαι φωνάς, ὡς ἐπιδορθεύμενον αὐτῶν τὴν τῆς φράσεως σύνταξιν. καταλέλοιπεν δὲ οὗτος πολὺ τι πλῆθος συγγραμμάτων, ὧν μάλιστα παρὰ πολλοῖς μνημονεῖται διαβόητος αὐτοῦ λόγος ὁ Πρὸς Ἑλλήνας. . . . The translation is Oulton's, slightly altered.

<sup>270</sup> Cf. M. Marcovich, ed., *Tatiani Oratio ad Graecos*, PTS 43 (Berlin, 1995), p. 4.

<sup>271</sup> Cf. D. S. Wallace-Hadrill, *Eusebius of Caesarea* (London, 1960), pp. 69–70; W. L. Petersen, *Tatian's Diatessaron: Its Creation, Dissemination, Significance, and History in Scholarship*, Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae 25 (Leiden, 1994), pp. 35–38. Lawlor and Oulton, II.152, following Lightfoot, *Essays on the Work Entitled Supernatural Religion* (London, 1889), p. 278, take the view that Eusebius intends to express "astonishment at the maladroitness of Tatian," whose work he apparently knew firsthand.

the *Diatessaron* “is extant among some people,” a statement that implies that the *Diatessaron* was not directly known to Eusebius (that it was not “extant” or “available” to Eusebius). Eusebius, who himself composed treatises on the Gospels and who would surely have been interested in the *Diatessaron*, was not personally familiar with the work.<sup>272</sup>

Similarly, regarding the second work named in the catalogue, Eusebius relates that “they say” (φασί) that Tatian dared to paraphrase some of the Apostle’s words. The lost work mentioned here seems to have been devoted to correcting St. Paul’s epistles, but Eusebius’ use of φασί implies that he did not have firsthand knowledge of the work.

Eusebius’ report of the writings of Tatian thus includes two works that were not known to Eusebius firsthand. But the catalogue also omits another of Tatian’s works of whose existence Eusebius had at least heard, the *Problemata*. In the fifth book of the *HE* Eusebius gives an account of one of Tatian’s students, Rhodon the Asian. This Rhodon tells of the existence of Tatian’s *Problemata*, a set of various difficulties in the Scriptures to which Rhodon promised the solutions (*HE* V.13.8).<sup>273</sup> The library at Caesarea presumably did not contain a copy of the *Problemata*, which Eusebius only names because he read of its existence in Rhodon’s work. Some scholars, however, have suggested that Tatian’s exegesis of Gen. 1:3 appeared in the *Problemata*,<sup>274</sup>

<sup>272</sup> W. L. Petersen, *Tatian*, p. 36, suggests that, because Eusebius was so interested in the text of the Gospels (as evidenced by his *Gospel Questions and Solutions* and *Evangelical Canons*), if Eusebius had had access to a copy of the *Diatessaron*, he would have described it in more detail. Petersen also points to the omission of the phrase “I know not how” in the Syriac translation of Eusebius’ *HE* as an indication that the translator was, unlike Eusebius, familiar with the *Diatessaron*.

<sup>273</sup> *HE* V.13.8: φησὶν δὲ καὶ ἐσπουδάσθαι τῷ Τατιανῷ Προβλημάτων βιβλίον. δι’ ὃν τὸ ἀσαφὲς καὶ ἐπικεκρυμμένον τῶν θείων γραφῶν παραστήσειν ὑποσχομένου τοῦ Τατιανουῦ, αὐτὸς ὁ Ῥόδων ἐν ἰδίῳ συγγράμματι τὰς τῶν ἐκείνου προβλημάτων ἐπιλύσεις ἐκθήσεσθαι ἐπαγγέλλεται. (“He says too that a book of Problems was composed by Tatian. And, since its author undertook to present therein the obscure and hidden parts of the divine Scriptures, Rhodon himself promises to give the solutions of Tatian’s problems in a special treatise” [trans. Oulton, slightly altered].) Rhodon’s statements come from his anti-Marcionite treatise (see the entry on Rhodon *infra*). W. Bauer, *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity* (Philadelphia, 1971), p. 157, explains that Eusebius “had not yet worked through his own material well enough” to integrate Rhodon’s information into the earlier catalogue of Tatian’s works.

<sup>274</sup> For example, A. Orbe, “A propósito de Gen. 1:3 (fiat lux) en la exegesis de Taciano,” *Gregorianum* 42 (1961), p. 402; F. Bolgiani, “Tatian,” *EEC* II (1992), p. 815. The suggestion that Tatian’s exegesis came from the *Problemata* is plausible,

and this possibility must, because of its implications for the contents of the library at Caesarea, be discussed further.

There are two early witnesses to Tatian's exegesis of Gen. 1:3: Clement of Alexandria (*Eclogae prophetae*, 38.1) and Origen (*De oratione*, 24.5; *Contra Celsum*, VI.51). Tatian, it seems, interpreted God's "fiat lux" as a petition, but both Clement and Origen argued that the words must be understood as a command. The theological consequences of Tatian's position are not important here, but Origen's knowledge of Tatian's exegesis is.<sup>275</sup> For, both the *De oratione* and *Contra Celsum* were written at Caesarea, and one may wonder whether Origen obtained his knowledge of Tatian's exegesis directly from Tatian's *Problemata*—or from some other of Tatian's lost works not catalogued by Eusebius.<sup>276</sup> But Origen likely first encountered Tatian's interpretation of Gen. 1:3, whether directly from one of Tatian's works or from some intermediary, at Alexandria when he composed the first eight books of his commentary on Genesis (*HE* VI.24.2).<sup>277</sup> Origen's later references to Tatian's exegesis, then, are probably dependent on knowledge gained at Alexandria and not at Caesarea, and the library at Caesarea need not have contained any more works by Tatian than the *Oratio ad Graecos*.

*Tertullian* Eusebius quotes four times from Tertullian's *Apologia* 5 and once from *Apologia* 2.<sup>278</sup> In his introduction to the first quotation of Tertullian (*HE* II.2.4) Eusebius indicates that he is using a Greek translation of the *Apologia*.<sup>279</sup> There is no reason to think that

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since the *Problemata* was devoted to Scriptural difficulties, and Tatian's other works, as far as is known, were entitled *On Animals* and *On Perfection According to the Savior*.

<sup>275</sup> Tatian's interpretation implies that the God of Gen. 1:3 is subordinate to a greater God, a gnostic view.

<sup>276</sup> P. Nautin, *Origène: sa vie et son oeuvre* (Paris, 1977), p. 385, dates the *De oratione* to 234–235; on pp. 375–376 he dates the *Contra Celsum* to 248–249. Origen, *De oratione* 24.5, provides more information on Tatian's exegesis than does Clement, so it seems that Origen did not derive his knowledge of Tatian's view from Clement.

<sup>277</sup> P. Nautin, *Origène*, p. 385, points out that Origen's ninth book on Genesis began with Gen. 3:8–9 (cf. *De oratione* 23.4).

<sup>278</sup> *Apol.* 5: *HE* II.2.5–6; II.25.4; III.20.7; V.5.7; *Apol.* 2: *HE* III.33.3.

<sup>279</sup> According to Harnack, the translation itself appears to be of poor quality: cf. *HE* II.25.4 with Tertullian, *Apol.*, 5.3; A. Harnack, "Die griechische Übersetzung des 'Apologeticus' Tertullians," *TU* 8.4 (1892), 1–36 [cited by T. D. Barnes, *CE*, p. 131, note 25]. E. A. Fisher, "Greek Translations of Latin Literature in the Fourth Century A.D.," *YCS* 27 (1982), pp. 203–207, is more charitable, judging it literal but not awkward.

Eusebius knew this work in its original Latin, for he seems in general to have been ignorant of Latin literature.<sup>280</sup> The appearance of what seems to be an approximate quotation of *Apol.* 5.6 in the notice of Marcus Aurelius' famous "Rain Miracle" in the *Chronicon* (pp. 206i–207 Helm) is likely owed to Jerome.<sup>281</sup> Eusebius' information about Tertullian himself—that he was a Roman skilled in law (*HE* II.2.4) and that he delivered his apology to the Roman Senate (*HE* V.5.5)—reveals that Eusebius had no knowledge of this writer beyond what he could find in or infer from the *Apologia* itself.<sup>282</sup> Eusebius therefore possessed a Greek translation of Tertullian's *Apologia* but none of his other works.

*Ecclesiastical Writers under the Antonines (HE IV.21–28)*

Eusebius advances his narrative to the second century and the Antonine emperors in *HE* IV. The reign of Antoninus Pius is introduced at IV.10, and at IV.14.10 Eusebius marks the reign of "Marcus Aurelius Verus, called Antoninus," and his brother Lucius—that is, Marcus Aurelius. After recording the life and martyrdom of Polycarp (IV.14–15); the martyrdom and works of Justin Martyr (IV.16–18); and the bishops of Rome (Soter), Alexandria (Agrippinus), and Antioch (Theophilus) (IV.19–20), Eusebius takes note of the ecclesiastical writers who flourished at this time: Hegesippus, Dionysius of Corinth, Pinytus of Crete, Philip, Apollinarius, Melito, Musanus, and Modestus

<sup>280</sup> Cf. G. Bardy, *La question des langues dans l'église ancienne* (Paris, 1948), pp. 129–130; T. D. Barnes, *CE*, pp. 142–143. This is not to deny that Eusebius knew some Latin (above, Chapter I, p. 18).

<sup>281</sup> Tertullian, *Apol.* 5.6: *At nos e contrario edimus protectorem, si litterae Marci Aurelii, gravissimi imperatoris, requirantur, quibus illam Germanicam sitim Christianorum forte militum precationibus impetrato imbri discussam contestatur.* ("But, on the contrary, we bring forward a protector, if one searches after the letters of Marcus Aurelius, that most distinguished emperor, which attest how the thirst in Germany was by chance broken by a rain-storm procured by the prayers of Christian soldiers.") *Chronicon*, pp. 206i–207 Helm: *Extant litterae Marci Aurelii gravissimi imperatoris, quibus illam Germanicam sitim Christianorum forte militum precationibus impetrato imbri discussam contestatur.* ("There are extant letters of Marcus Aurelius, that most distinguished emperor, that attest how that thirst in Germany was by chance broken by a rain-storm procured by the prayers of Christian soldiers.") The Armenian version of the *Chronicon* (p. 222 Karst) and the Greek of the *Chronicon Paschale*, derived from Eusebius, by omitting the word *sitim*, both omit the concept that the Christians' prayers saved the Romans from thirst, as well as from destruction at the hands of the Germans.

<sup>282</sup> On Eusebius' use of Tertullian, see T. D. Barnes, *CE*, pp. 131–132; Idem, *Tertullian: a Historical and Literary Study* (Oxford, 1971), pp. 25–26.



(IV.21). At the end of this list, Eusebius adds, “and the orthodoxy of [their] sound faith, coming from the apostolic tradition, has come down to us in writing,” καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς τῆς ἀποστολικῆς παραδόσεως ἡ τῆς ὑγιοῦς πίστεως ἔγγραφος κατήλθεν ὀρθοδοξία (*HE* IV.21). That Eusebius specifies that these writers’ orthodoxy has come down to him *in writing* suggests that Eusebius possessed copies of the works of most of the authors he lists at IV.21 and based his judgment on a firsthand knowledge of their writings.<sup>283</sup> This conclusion finds much confirmation in the language Eusebius uses to introduce the writings of these authors in the succeeding chapters of *HE* IV. Indeed, as will be shown, the great exception in this section is IV.25, for it is only in this chapter that Eusebius seems to report works with which he has no real acquaintance.

Hegesippus appears at IV.22, and Dionysius of Corinth at IV.23; Pinytus of Crete receives no separate notice but is named as one of Dionysius’ correspondents. Eusebius describes the works of Theophilus of Antioch at IV.24, presumably having omitted him from the list at IV.21 because he already named Theophilus as bishop of Antioch at IV.20. Individual works of Philip of Gortyn, Irenaeus, and Modestus are all named at IV.25. Eusebius gives a catalogue of the works of Melito of Sardis at IV.26 and of Apollinarius of Hierapolis at IV.27, while at IV.28 Eusebius notes the work of Musanus addressed to the Encratites, a heretical sect that introduces the writer Tatian (IV.29). Eusebius omitted Tatian from his list of writers at IV.21, it would seem, because Tatian did not remain orthodox but instead became an Encratite. It is unclear whether Eusebius intended Bardesanes, who concludes the book at IV.30, to be classified with the orthodox writers of IV.21, since Eusebius’ verdict on Bardesanes’ orthodoxy is mixed.<sup>284</sup>

It is well established that throughout *HE* IV Eusebius was somewhat confused about the identities of the various emperors named Antoninus and that, consequently, he made some mistakes about the

<sup>283</sup> Cf. Eusebius’ similar words at *HE* V.22 regarding his evidence for the Paschal Controversy: “[bishops] whose orthodoxy in the faith has in truth come down to us in writing,” ὧν γε μὴν ἔγγραφος ἡ τῆς πίστεως εἰς ἡμᾶς κατήλθεν ὀρθοδοξία.

<sup>284</sup> Eusebius explains that Bardesanes rejected Valentinianism and changed to orthodoxy, although the conversion was incomplete. R. M. Grant, *Eusebius as Church Historian* (Oxford, 1980), p. 72, believes that the addition of chapters on Tatian and Bardesanes indicates that Eusebius has changed his plan of composition “either as he writes or at a later time.”



dates of the noteworthy churchmen of this period, as he does, for example, with Bardesanes, who is incorrectly placed under the reign of Marcus Aurelius.<sup>285</sup> The authors listed in IV.21–30 are, however, arranged according to what Eusebius believed was the proper chronology.<sup>286</sup> Nevertheless, because Eusebius' recommendation of the orthodoxy of the authors listed at IV.21 (and thus also his indication of having copies of these authors' works) seems to apply particularly to the writers treated in IV.21–28, only the authors named in these chapters will be examined below.

*Hegesippus* The treatment of the writers named at IV.21 commences with Hegesippus, who "has left behind a very full record of his own thoughts in the five books of *Memoirs* (ὑπομνήματα) that have come down to us."<sup>287</sup> Briefly described, the work, according to Eusebius, retails how Hegesippus found the same doctrine taught at Rome as that taught by other bishops. Eusebius elaborates with three quotations, the first of which situates Hegesippus in the middle and late second century. The second and third quotations, and the remainder of the chapter, suggest that Hegesippus was a Jewish Christian.<sup>288</sup> As Eusebius observes at the end of these quotations, he has already made use of Hegesippus in the previous books of the *HE*.<sup>289</sup> In fact, Eusebius relies heavily on Hegesippus throughout the second, third, and fourth books of the *HE*, particularly for information about Christians in Palestine: in addition to the three quotations at IV.22, Eusebius quotes Hegesippus five other times (II.23.4–18; III.20.1–2;

<sup>285</sup> See T. D. Barnes, *CE*, p. 137 and, on Bardesanes, p. 141; similarly on Bardesanes, R. M. Grant, *Eusebius as Church Historian*, p. 89.

<sup>286</sup> See T. D. Barnes, *CE*, pp. 132–133.

<sup>287</sup> *HE* IV.22.1: ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἡγήσιππος ἐν πέντε τοῖς εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐλθοῦσιν ὑπομνήμασιν τῆς ἰδίας γνώμης πληρεστάτην μνήμην καταλέλοιπεν. Oulton translates ὑπομνήματα as "memoirs," but M. Durst, "Hegesipps 'Hypomnemata'—Titel oder Gattungsbezeichnung? Untersuchungen zum literarischen Gebrauch von 'Hypomnema'—'Hypomnemata'," *Römische Quartalschrift* 84 (1989), pp. 299–330, has recently argued that Eusebius could not have meant ὑπομνήματα as a precise title; Eusebius may have not known the title, or Hegesippus may not have given a title to his work. According to Durst, the word itself is a general equivalent to "notes," "writings," or "books."

<sup>288</sup> Cf. T. Halton, "Hegesippus in Eusebius," *Studia Patristica* 17.2 (1982), p. 690: Hegesippus a "Christian Jew."

<sup>289</sup> *HE* IV.22.8: καὶ ἕτερα δὲ πλεῖστα γράφει, ὧν ἐκ μέρους ἤδη πρότερον ἐμνημονεύσαμεν, οἰκείως τοῖς καιροῖς τὰς ἱστορίας παραθέμενοι . . . ("And he wrote very much else besides, which in part we have already mentioned previously, giving the accounts at suitable points" [trans. Oulton]).

III.32.1 and 6; IV.8.2), and thrice Hegesippus is named as a source without any quotation of him (III.11–12; III.16; III.20.5–6). No doubt there are other instances in which Eusebius draws on Hegesippus but does not name him as a source.<sup>290</sup>

In the composition of his *HE*, therefore, Eusebius utilized the five books of Hegesippus' Ὑπομνήματα, which was available to him in the library at Caesarea.<sup>291</sup> It may be added that Hegesippus was also a source for Eusebius' *Chronicon*, although Eusebius seems not to have relied on Hegesippus to the same extent as he did in the *HE*.<sup>292</sup>

*Dionysius of Corinth* Eusebius devotes IV.23 to a description of the "catholic letters to the churches" of Dionysius, the bishop of Corinth.<sup>293</sup> With brief descriptions of their contents, Eusebius records the first eight letters: a catechetical letter to the Lacedaemonians on peace and unity and a letter to the Athenians (IV.23.2); a letter to the Nicomedians (IV.23.4); a letter to the church at Gortyn and the regions around it in Crete (IV.23.5); a letter to the church at Amastris and the regions around it in Pontus (IV.23.6); a letter to Pinytus of Cnossus and the Cnossians (IV.23.7); the reply of Pinytus (IV.23.8); and a letter to Soter and the Romans (IV.23.9). After quoting three passages of this letter to Soter (IV.23.10–12),<sup>294</sup> Eusebius records the existence of a ninth letter, this one to the "very faithful sister" Chrysophora (IV.23.13).

It should be noted that Eusebius three times refers to individual letters of Dionysius with the word φέρεται. The letters to the Nicomedians, to Soter and the Romans, and to Chrysophora are introduced with the description that each "is extant." In the case of the

<sup>290</sup> Cf. *HE* III.5.2–3; III.17–18; III.19; III.20.9; III.35. See H. J. Lawlor, *Eusebiana*, pp. 1–107; R. M. Grant, *Eusebius as Church Historian*, pp. 67–70. *HE* III.18.4 may also derive from Hegesippus: see A. J. Carriker, "Seven Unidentified Sources," *Nova Doctrina Vetusque* (New York, 1999), pp. 81–83.

<sup>291</sup> R. M. Grant, *Eusebius as Church Historian*, pp. 67–68, suggests that Eusebius found his copy of Hegesippus at Jerusalem. While this is a possibility, it must still be the case that Eusebius had a copy of Hegesippus available to him at Caesarea, if only that copy had been transcribed from an exemplar in Jerusalem.

<sup>292</sup> Cf. R. M. Grant, *Eusebius as Church Historian*, pp. 70 and 86, pointing out how Eusebius altered his positions on some issues for which Hegesippus was a source in the *Chronicon* and *HE*.

<sup>293</sup> *HE* IV.23.1: . . . ἐν αἷς ὑπετυποῦτο καθολικαῖς πρὸς τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἐπιστολαῖς.

<sup>294</sup> At *HE* II.25.8, for information about the martyrdoms of SS. Peter and Paul, Eusebius quotes Dionysius of Corinth ἐγγράφως Ῥωμαίοις ὁμιλῶν, presumably the letter to Soter and the Romans.

letter to Soter, the quotations Eusebius provides are further evidence that Eusebius did possess this letter, but Eusebius' statements regarding the other two letters need not be doubted, and indeed Dionysius' other letters, having been gathered into a single collection, were certainly available in the library at Caesarea.<sup>295</sup>

Dionysius himself probably organized these letters, or at least the ones directed to individual churches, into a single collection. His complaint to Soter that heretics had interpolated his letters (*HE* IV.23.12) indicates Dionysius' motive for compiling an accurate edition of his letters. Dionysius must have sent his letters to the individual churches, but these letters were then circulated beyond their intended audiences, eventually suffering interpolations. Dionysius' own edition was intended to correct these errors.<sup>296</sup>

It is possible that Dionysius himself called the letters "catholic", since they were now made available to the entire Church. But, as Lawlor and Oulton note, the term "catholic" may be used because the letters are addressed to Christian communities.<sup>297</sup> In fact, both explanations of the term "catholic" apply: just as St. Paul's letters to individual communities were collected for circulation to the whole Church, so did Dionysius now intend the definitive text of his letters to circulate throughout the wider Church. Seven of Dionysius' letters are addressed to specific communities and so conform to the scenario described here. Dionysius' collection, however, once it was released to the public, may still have received additions, such as, perhaps, the two other letters known to Eusebius, the response of Pinytus of Cnossus and the letter to the private citizen Chrysophora.<sup>298</sup>

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<sup>295</sup> H. J. Lawlor, *Eusebiana*, pp. 147–148 (and cf. Lawlor and Oulton, II.144), suggests that the letters of Dionysius were contained on a single papyrus roll. H. Y. Gamble, *Books and Readers*, p. 116, is more cautious: the letters could be found "transcribed together in a single codex or roll in the Caesarean library."

<sup>296</sup> For a more speculative reconstruction of the controversy that inspired Dionysius' collection of letters, see P. Nautin, *Lettres et écrivains chrétiens* (Paris, 1961), pp. 13–32; and on p. 90 Nautin hypothesizes that Dionysius' letters were brought to Palestine by Bachyllus of Corinth during the Paschal Controversy.

<sup>297</sup> Lawlor and Oulton, II.144.

<sup>298</sup> For this possibility, see Lawlor and Oulton, II.144–145; cf. H. J. Lawlor, *Eusebiana*, pp. 147–148. In arguing that an early edition of St. Paul's letters to seven communities (Corinthians, Romans, Ephesians, Thessalonians, Galatians, Philippians, Colossians [possibly with Philemon]) was instrumental in establishing the codex as the preferred form of the Christian book, H. Y. Gamble, *Books and Readers*, p. 61 (and note 85, with reference to E. J. Goodspeed, *New Solutions of New Testament Problems* [U. Chicago, 1927], pp. 1–64), points to the parallel collections of letters

*Theophilus of Antioch* At IV.20 Eusebius marks the succession of Theophilus to the see of Antioch in the year 168/9.<sup>299</sup> Although he then omits Theophilus from the list of writers at IV.21, Eusebius provides a catalogue of Theophilus' works at IV.24. Of the first work listed here, Eusebius states that "three elementary treatises to Autolycus are extant," τρία τὰ πρὸς Αὐτόλυκον στοιχειώδη φέρεται συγγράμματα. The three books of the *Ad Autolycum* must be meant here, and the observation that they "are extant" (φέρεται) indicates that they were available to Eusebius at Caesarea.<sup>300</sup> Eusebius next lists a treatise *Against the Heresy of Hermogenes* (καὶ ἄλλο Πρὸς τὴν αἵρεσιν Ἑρμογένους τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχον). Eusebius adds that in this work Theophilus makes use of the Apocalypse of John, a detail that probably emerges from Eusebius' familiarity with the text. Eusebius continues: καὶ ἕτερα δέ τινα κατηχητικὰ αὐτοῦ φέρεται βιβλία. Again, Eusebius claims that these unnumbered catechetical books "are extant" and so indicates his possession of them. The final work listed in the catalogue is one directed against Marcion (κατὰ Μαρκίωνος).<sup>301</sup> This work, *Against*

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to seven communities in Apocalypse 2:1–3:22 and by Ignatius of Antioch. Perhaps Dionysius of Corinth was also influenced by the grouping of seven letters to seven communities. If such was the case, then the letter to Chrysophora would seem more likely to have been a later addition, though the response of Pinytus could still originally have been included as an appendix to Dionysius' letter to Cnossus. A. Harnack, *Die Briefsammlung des Apostels Paulus und die anderen vorkonstantinischen christlichen Briefsammlungen* (Leipzig, 1926), p. 37, questions how else Pinytus' reply to Dionysius could have been included in the collection than by Dionysius himself. W. Bauer, *Orthodoxy and Heresy*, pp. 167–168, thinks that both the response of Pinytus and the letter to Chrysophora were later additions, the former because it seems not to show Dionysius to advantage (cf. *HE* IV.23.8) and because it could have circulated independently. H. Y. Gamble, *Books and Readers*, p. 118 and note 107, tends to support Harnack: he believes that Dionysius' original collection included the reply of Pinytus but that the letter to Chrysophora may have been added later.

<sup>299</sup> Cf. *Chronicon*, p. 205 Helm, in which Theophilus is dated to the year 169.

<sup>300</sup> R. M. Grant, "The Textual Tradition of Theophilus of Antioch," *Vigiliae Christianae* 6 (1952), p. 149, agrees that Eusebius (or, as Grant thinks more likely, an assistant) found the three books *Ad Autolycum* in the library at Caesarea, but he is sceptical that Eusebius read the third book, since at *Chronicon*, p. 207 Helm, Eusebius dates Theophilus' successor to the year 177, although Theophilus seems to have composed the *Ad Autolycum* after 180 (*Ad Autolycum* III.27). Whether or not Eusebius actually read the *Ad Autolycum* may be impossible to know, but one should at least say that Eusebius was not incapable of ignoring evidence, and Grant himself later (*Eusebius as Church Historian*, p. 54) even suggests that Jerome was responsible for the precise dating in the *Chronicon* of Theophilus' successor, Eusebius' notice of him at IV.24 being vague about the chronology.

<sup>301</sup> *HE* IV.24: Θεόφιλος σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις κατὰ τούτων στρατευσάμενος δηλὸς ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τίνος οὐκ ἀγνῶνς αὐτῷ κατὰ Μαρκίωνος πεπονημένου λόγου, ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς μεθ' ὧν ἄλλων εἰρήκαμεν εἰς ἔτι νῦν διασέσωσται. ("In fact, that Theophilus along with

*Marcion*, like the others in the catalogue, “has been preserved” to Eusebius’ day, evidently in the library at Caesarea.<sup>302</sup>

*Philip of Gortyn and Modestus* Observation of Theophilus’ treatise against Marcion introduces the work of Philip, bishop of Gortyn in Crete, and Modestus at IV.25. As Eusebius states, Philip figures in the correspondence of Dionysius of Corinth (IV.23.5), but nothing is known of Modestus, whom Eusebius does not even associate with a city or region. Eusebius states that Philip composed “a very excellent treatise against Marcion.”<sup>303</sup> No more is said about the work, and it is possible that Eusebius only knew of the work through the correspondence of Dionysius of Corinth (cf. IV.23.5). Eusebius could very well assume the orthodoxy of Philip’s work (cf. IV.21) because of Philip’s relationship to Dionysius of Corinth. Eusebius next adds that Irenaeus similarly wrote a work against Marcion, but Eusebius’ knowledge of this treatise, too, may be indirect. Eusebius later reports (V.8.9) that Irenaeus announced in his *Adversus haereses* (I.27.4) that he would make a refutation of Marcion, and it is likely that Eusebius’ mention of Irenaeus here at IV.25 is based not on personal knowledge of the treatise but on Irenaeus’ own statement. There is but slightly more to say about Modestus. Eusebius attributes a work against Marcion to him, as well, and adds that Modestus exposed Marcion’s heresy more effectively than did others.<sup>304</sup> Despite Eusebius’ ostensibly knowledgeable evaluation of Modestus’ treatise, Eusebius’ statement is bland and comes in a chapter whose information appears

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the others entered the field against them is evident from a certain book of uncommon merit which he composed against Marcion; which book itself has been preserved even to this day along with the others of which we have spoken” [trans. Oulton].)

<sup>302</sup> There is no proof, of course, that Eusebius actually possessed a copy of Theophilus’ *Against Marcion*. G. Bardy, SC #31 (Paris, 1952), p. 206, note 3, for example, thinks that Eusebius probably did not know the work, but he does not offer a reason for his conclusion. The words at HE IV.21 governing this catalogue, however, and Eusebius’ affirmation that the work was preserved with the other works listed in the catalogue indicate that Eusebius did have access to the *Against Marcion*.

<sup>303</sup> HE IV.25: σπουδαιότατον πεποιήται καὶ αὐτὸς κατὰ Μαρκίωνος λόγον. But cf. P. Nautin, *Lettres et écrivains chrétiens*, pp. 22–23, for the speculation that Philip actually composed not a treatise against Marcion but a hostile letter to Pinytus of Crete.

<sup>304</sup> HE IV.25: διαφερόντως παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους τὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς [Marcion] εἰς ἐκδήλον τοῖς πᾶσιν κατεφόρασε πλάνην (“[Modestus] was more successful than the others in unmasking the man’s [Marcion’s] error and making it plain to all” [trans. Oulton]).

to be entirely derivative. If, furthermore, Jerome's report at *De viris ill.* 32 that Modestus' *Adversus Marcionem* was still extant (*usque hodie perseverat*), is treated with caution, then it seems unlikely that Eusebius knew Modestus' work firsthand. The chapter closes with a generic statement that there were many other authors of the period whose works survive among Christians.<sup>305</sup>

*Melito of Sardis and Apollinarius of Hierapolis* Having named Melito and Apollinarius among the authors at IV.21, Eusebius takes these two writers together, with a catalogue of Melito's writings at IV.26 and a catalogue of Apollinarius' at IV.27. Before embarking on the catalogues of these two authors, Eusebius observes that each author composed an apology for Christianity, no doubt the better known works of both writers.<sup>306</sup> Eusebius next emphasizes that the works he lists are the "works that have come to our knowledge," τούτων [Melito and Apollinarius of Hierapolis] εἰς ἡμετέραν γνῶσιν ἀφίκται τὰ ὑποτεταγμένα (IV.26.1). Eusebius, echoing his statement at IV.21, thus vouches that the catalogues of Melito's and Apollinarius' works are the catalogues of the works that he possesses. It may, in fact, be correct to see in each catalogue a transcription of the titles of the works contained in the library at Caesarea.<sup>307</sup>

Of Melito's works<sup>308</sup> listed at IV.26.2, Eusebius first lists (1) τὰ Περὶ τοῦ πάσχα δύο, two books *De pascha* (*On Passover*, or *Easter*). This work has not survived, and thus its relationship to the homily *On Pascha* that was discovered early in this century remains uncertain.<sup>309</sup>

<sup>305</sup> HE IV.25: καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ πλείους, ὧν παρὰ πλείστοις τῶν ἀδελφῶν εἰς ἔτι νῦν οἱ πόνοι διαφυλάττονται ("and many others too [wrote with the same object], whose labors are still to this day preserved in the hands of many of the brethren" [trans. Oulton]). W. Bauer, *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity* (Philadelphia, 1971), p. 158, is correct in this case to note the exaggeration in Eusebius' statement.

<sup>306</sup> In his entry on Melito in the *Chronicon* (under the year 170, p. 206 Helm), Eusebius also records Melito's *Apologia*. Apollinarius is named immediately thereafter.

<sup>307</sup> Lawlor and Oulton, II.147, suggest that the list of Melito's works is a transcription of the titles contained in four papyrus rolls (the first four titles; the next three; the next two; and the last seven). Lawlor and Oulton, II.150, suggest that Apollinarius' works fit on one roll. While it is probably unsafe to conjecture how many papyrus rolls contained Melito's and Apollinarius' works, Eusebius does seem to be transcribing the titles available to him.

<sup>308</sup> The text of this catalogue is unreliable, and as a result the titles of Melito's works have been variously reconstructed. In general, Schwartz's text is followed here, with reference to S. G. Hall, ed., *Melito of Sardis, On Pascha and Fragments* (Oxford, 1979), pp. xiii–xvi.

<sup>309</sup> S. G. Hall, ed., *Melito*, pp. xvii–xxi, reports the major scholarly opinions on

At the end of the catalogue, Eusebius returns to describe Melito's work in a few lines. Here Eusebius quotes a short passage indicating the date at which the treatise was composed (IV.26.3) and then observes that Clement of Alexandria, in his own work *De pascha*, mentions Melito's work and even states that Melito's work prompted him to write his own treatise on the subject (IV.26.4). This passage has led several scholars to doubt that Eusebius quoted Melito directly or even possessed Melito's *De pascha*. Bauer points out the artificial character of the quotation, particularly its conclusion ("and these things were written," καὶ ἐγράφη ταῦτα), which suggests that Eusebius is quoting someone other than Melito.<sup>310</sup> Gustafsson goes further, suggesting that Eusebius drew the quotation from Clement's *De pascha*, since Eusebius refers to Clement so soon after quoting Melito and since Clement, by his own testimony, obviously knew Melito's work.<sup>311</sup> Such scepticism is unwarranted, for Eusebius' own statements at IV.21 and IV.26.1 suggest that Eusebius possessed the works he names in the various catalogues of *HE* IV. Even if, then, in the particular instance of the quotation at IV.26.3 Eusebius' source is Clement and not Melito directly, Eusebius' own statements imply that Melito's *De pascha* was available in the library at Caesarea. Moreover, it seems likelier that, in making out the catalogue of Melito's works, Eusebius looked over the works whose titles he transcribed and so could easily draw the short quotation directly from the beginning of Melito's work.<sup>312</sup> The quotation itself may indeed not have come from Melito's own pen, but rather from a later scribe as a chronological or introductory note to the text.<sup>313</sup> Eusebius probably associated in his mind Melito's work with Clement's of the same name and accordingly added the note that Clement mentioned Melito in his own *De pascha*.<sup>314</sup>

Eusebius continues the list of Melito's works with (2) τὸ Περὶ

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the relationship between Melito's homily and the work known to Eusebius. Some scholars identify the two works, while others maintain that they are independent.

<sup>310</sup> W. Bauer, *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity*, pp. 152–154.

<sup>311</sup> B. Gustafsson, "Eusebius' Principles," *Studia Patristica* (1961), p. 430.

<sup>312</sup> Eusebius introduces the quotation of Melito by specifying that it comes from the beginning of the work: ἐν μὲν οὖν τῷ Περὶ τοῦ πάσχα τὸν χρόνον καθ' ὃν συντάχτην, ἀρχόμενος σημαίνει ἐν τούτοις ("At the beginning, therefore, of the On Pascha, he makes note, in these words, of the time at which he composed it . . .").

<sup>313</sup> O. Perler, *SC* #123 (Paris, 1966), pp. 19–20, makes this suggestion, adding references to similar chronological notes in such works as *acta martyrum* and the sermons of St. Augustine.

<sup>314</sup> Eusebius repeats this note in the catalogue of Clement's works at VI.13.9.



πολιτείας καὶ προφητῶν (*On Conduct and the Prophets*); (3) ὁ Περὶ ἐκκλησίας . . . λόγος (*On the Church*); (4) ὁ Περὶ κυριακῆς λόγος (*On the Lord's Day*); (5) ὁ Περὶ πίστεως ἀνθρώπου (*On the Faith of Man*); (6) ὁ Περὶ πλάσεως (*On Creation*); (7) ὁ Περὶ ὑπακοῆς πίστεως αἰσθητηρίων (*On the Subjection of the Senses to Faith*);<sup>315</sup> (8) ὁ Περὶ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος ἢ νοός (*On the Soul and Body, or Mind*); (9) ὁ Περὶ λουτροῦ καὶ περὶ ἀληθείας καὶ περὶ πίστεως καὶ γενέσεως Χριστοῦ (*On Baptism and Truth and Faith and the Birth of Christ*); (10) λόγος αὐτοῦ προφητείας (*Book of Prophecy*); (11) περὶ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος (*On Soul and Body*);<sup>316</sup> (12) ὁ Περὶ φιλοξενίας (*On Hospitality*); (13) ἡ Κλείς (*The Key*); (14) τὰ Περὶ τοῦ διαβόλου καὶ τῆς Ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰωάννου (*On the Devil and the Apocalypse of John*), a work of at least two books; (15) ὁ Περὶ ἐνσωμάτου θεοῦ (*On the Corporeality of God*);<sup>317</sup> (16) and τὸ Πρὸς Ἀντωνίνου βιβλίδιον (*Apologia ad Antoninum*). Eusebius returns to this last work, the *Apologia*, at IV.26.5 (after the description of the *De pascha* at IV.26.3–4), producing two short quotations and one longer extract regarding the occurrence of persecutions (IV.26.5–11). For Eusebius' earlier reference to this apology at IV.13.8, see the appendix below.

Eusebius quotes briefly from the preface of a final work by Melito, (17) the Ἐκλογαὶ ἐκ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν περὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος καὶ πάσης τῆς πίστεως ἡμῶν (*Extracts from the Law and Prophets about the Savior and Our Entire Faith*) at IV.26.13–14. The work provides a catalogue of accepted Old Testament books, and at the end of the quotation Melito himself states that the work comprised six books (IV.26.14). Presumably, Eusebius possessed this work but, having found it at the end of one of the papyrus rolls of Melito's works, simply neglected to include it in the catalogue itself at IV.26.2.<sup>318</sup> Perhaps, too, as he seems to have done with the *De pascha*, and because he was engaged in only a rapid survey of Melito's works as he composed this chapter,

<sup>315</sup> S. G. Hall, *Melito*, p. xiv, prefers the translation *On Obedience of Faith of (the) Senses*. Jerome and Rufinus both list this title as two separate works.

<sup>316</sup> This title may, however, be a doublet for work (8).

<sup>317</sup> The meaning of this title is obscure. Cf. S. G. Hall, ed., *Melito*, p. xv, who translates *On God Embodied*. G. Bardy, SC #31 (Paris, 1952), p. 209, translates *Sur le Dieu incarné*.

<sup>318</sup> H. J. Lawlor, *Eusebiana*, p. 149, admits that the quotation could have been drawn from a secondary source. S. G. Hall, ed., *Melito*, p. xvi, suggests Clement as this source but also refers to other scholars who have hypothesized that the *Eclogae* ought to be identified with one of the other works already named in the catalogue. (If the *Eclogae* is to be identified with, for example, *The Key*, or another such work, however, then it would still seem to have been available at Caesarea.)



Eusebius found it easiest to quote from the very beginning of the *Eclogae*.

Despite its problematic features, the catalogue of Melito's works ought to be considered an accurate record of Melito's works that were available at Caesarea.<sup>319</sup> One can further speculate that Origen himself brought the collection of Melito's works to Caesarea. In at least two places Origen furnishes evidence that he knew some of Melito's works: at *Selecta in Genesim* 1:26 Origen seems to have used work (15), and at *Selecta in Psalmos ad Ps.* 3 Origen seems to refer to work (14).<sup>320</sup> Both of these works were probably composed at Caesarea.<sup>321</sup>

*Appendix: Melito and the Rescript of Antoninus Pius (or M. Aurelius) to the Koinon of Asia.*

Eusebius produces the text of an imperial rescript to the κοινὸν τῆς Ἀσίας at *HE* IV.13.1–7. The heading of the letter names Marcus Aurelius, but Eusebius indicates that the emperor who sent the letter was Antoninus Pius (ὁ αὐτὸς Βασιλεύς, the same emperor, apparently, that is, to whom Justin addressed his *Apology*; cf. IV.11.11).<sup>322</sup> After quoting this letter, Eusebius cites Melito's *Apology* as a witness: "That such was the course of these events is a fact further testified by Melito . . . as is clear from what he has said in the apology for our faith that he addressed to the emperor Verus."<sup>323</sup>

The letter as it stands in Eusebius' text is not genuine, for, even if it is based on an authentic imperial rescript, it contains a num-

<sup>319</sup> Pace W. Bauer, *Orthodoxy and Heresy*, p. 153; S. G. Hall, *Melito*, p. xiii.

<sup>320</sup> Origen, *Selecta in Genesim*, 1:26 (PG 12.93A): [Some say that God created man in His image with reference to the body] "among whom there is Melito, who has left behind books on how God is corporeal," ὃν ἐστὶ καὶ Μελίτων συγγράμματα καταλειποῦς περὶ τοῦ ἐνσώματου εἶναι τὸν θεόν. Origen, *Selecta in Psalmos ad Ps.* 3 (PG 12.1120A): Μελίτων γοῦν ὁ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ φησὶν αὐτὸν [referring to Absalom] εἶναι τύπον διαβόλου ἐπαναστάντος τῇ Χριστοῦ βασιλείᾳ, καὶ τούτου μόνου μνησθεὶς οὐκ ἐπεξεργάσατο τὸν τόπον ("Melito the Asian, therefore, says that he [Absalom] was the image of the Devil, rising up against the Kingdom of Christ; and, having called this alone to mind, he did not elaborate on the subject"). The reference here is most likely to *On the Devil and the Apocalypse of John*, but it could well be to another of Melito's works.

<sup>321</sup> Cf. P. Nautin, *Origène*, pp. 372–375.

<sup>322</sup> On the date of the rescript (160/161), see T. D. Barnes, "Legislation against the Christians," *JRS* 58 (1968), pp. 37–38.

<sup>323</sup> *HE* IV.13.8: τούτοις οὕτω χωρήσασιν ἐπιμαρτυρῶν Μελίτων . . . δηλὸς ἐστὶν ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων αὐτῷ ἐν ᾗ πεποιήται πρὸς αὐτοκράτορα Οὐήρον ὑπὲρ τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς δόγματος ἀπολογία. The translation is Oulton's, slightly altered.

ber of Christian interpolations.<sup>324</sup> But what is Eusebius' source for the letter? There are, it seems, three possibilities: either Eusebius found the letter attached to Justin's *Apologies*, or he found it attached to Melito's, or the letter was attached to neither of these authors' works and must have reached Eusebius through some other tradition.

The view that the letter was attached to Justin's *Apologies*, probably his *First Apology*, rests primarily on the fact that Eusebius quotes the letter immediately after he quotes the beginning of Justin's *First Apology* (IV.12). Justin was used frequently in this book, at IV.8, 9, and 11, as well as 16 and 17, for various information, and it would not be surprising if the same work that contained Hadrian's rescript to Minicius Fundanus also contained this other imperial rescript.<sup>325</sup> Moreover, if Eusebius found the letter after the *First Apology* but before the *Second*, he may have believed it dated to Pius rather than Marcus Aurelius, since the *First Apology* was, Eusebius believed (cf. *HE* IV.18.2), addressed to Pius and the *Second* to Marcus.<sup>326</sup>

One problem with the scenario traced above is that, while Eusebius does indicate that he drew Hadrian's rescript to Minicius Fundanus directly from Justin (IV.8.8), he makes no similar claim at the end of IV.12.<sup>327</sup> While this objection is hardly fatal, Justin becomes a less likely source when one recalls that Eusebius does call Melito to witness to the existence of the letter at IV.13.8. Here a tangential point must be considered. In one of the fragments of Melito's *Apology* preserved by Eusebius, Melito cites the tolerant policy of Antoninus Pius, who "wrote to the cities, and, among others, to the people of Larissa and Thessalonica and Athens, and to all the Greeks, that

<sup>324</sup> Cf. A. Harnack, *Das Edict von Antoninus Pius*, TU 13.4 (Leipzig, 1895); R. Freudenberger, "Christenreskript: ein umstrittenes Reskript des Antoninus Pius," *ZKG* 78 (1967), pp. 1–14.

<sup>325</sup> The single manuscript that contains Justin's *Apologies*, Parisinus gr. 450 (saec. XIV), also contains a copy of the letter to the Koinon of Asia (as well as a copy of the fabricated letter of M. Aurelius about the "rain miracle"). It is important to recognize, however, that the version of the letter in Parisinus 450 seems to be dependent on Eusebius. On this point, see A. Harnack, *Das Edict*, pp. 7–9. The appearance of the letter to the Koinon of Asia in the manuscript tradition of Justin shows nothing about Eusebius' source.

<sup>326</sup> For this view, cf. H. J. Lawlor, *Eusebiana*, pp. 145–147 and Lawlor and Oulton, II.128–129. R. Freudenberger, "Christenreskript," *ZKG* (1967), pp. 10–11, thinks that Eusebius found the letter in a collection of apologetic works that also contained Justin's *Apologies* and that this collection was the source of the corrupted heading that names Marcus Aurelius.

<sup>327</sup> C. A. Harnack, *Das Edict*, p. 21, note 1.

they should raise no disturbances concerning us.”<sup>328</sup> Some scholars believe that, by a letter “to all the Greeks,” Melito is referring to Antoninus Pius’ letter to the Koinon of Asia.<sup>329</sup> Other scholars (probably correctly) disagree.<sup>330</sup> It is unlikely that the question will be resolved conclusively, and yet for the purpose of identifying Eusebius’ source for the rescript, the question may be immaterial. If Melito does not refer to Pius’ letter at IV.26.10, then Eusebius’ statement at IV.13.8 simply attests to Melito’s citation of the rescript elsewhere in his *Apology*. But if Melito is referring to Pius’ letter at IV.26.10, then what is to prevent Melito’s making a further reference to the rescript at another place in his *Apology*? The third possibility should now be examined.

Harnack cautiously attributes Eusebius’ knowledge of the rescript to an unspecified “Christian tradition.”<sup>331</sup> Such a tradition, it would seem, could take many forms. The rescript could, of course, have been attached to a variety of works available to Eusebius. Or, Eusebius may have had at hand a collection of imperial constitutions on Christians compiled by Christians specifically for apologetic use. Freudenberger supposes that Melito himself possessed such a collection, this one supplying Melito with copies of the rescripts named at IV.26.10.<sup>332</sup> Yet, if Eusebius possessed a similar collection, he made little use of it, since the only other imperial constitution in the *HE* that could be attributed to such a compilation is Gallienus’ rescript on Christians, and this rescript was more likely appended to one of the letters of Dionysius of Alexandria.<sup>333</sup>

<sup>328</sup> *HE* IV.26.10: ταῖς πόλεσι περὶ τοῦ μηδὲν νεωτερίζειν περὶ ἡμῶν ἔγραψεν, ἐν οἷς καὶ πρὸς Λαρισαίους καὶ πρὸς Θεσσαλονικεῖς καὶ Ἀθηναίους καὶ πρὸς πάντας Ἑλλήνας. The translation is Oulton’s.

<sup>329</sup> See, for example, R. Freudenberger, “Christenreskript,” *ZKG* (1967), pp. 2–3, following W. Hüttl, *Antoninus Pius* (Prague, 1936), I. 210 and note 351. T. D. Barnes, “Legislation,” *JRS*, p. 37, is receptive to this possibility.

<sup>330</sup> A. Harnack, *Das Edict*, p. 53, is inclined to believe that the phrase “to all the Greeks” is intentionally vague. He notes that Rufinus omits the expression. (He also conjectures that the Koinon of the Achaeans could be meant.) P. Keresztes, “The Imperial Roman Government and the Christian Church I: from Nero to the Severi,” *ANRW* II.23.1 (1979), p. 296, similarly emphasizes the imprecision of Melito’s terminology. Lawlor and Oulton, II. 129 and 149, argue that, if Melito had meant Pius’ rescript to the Koinon of Asia, he would have been more specific. R. M. Grant, *Greek Apologists of the Second Century* (Philadelphia, 1988), p. 46, while unfortunately misrepresenting the view of Lawlor and Oulton, contends that Melito was referring to the Panhellenic Council founded by Hadrian at Athens.

<sup>331</sup> A. Harnack, *Das Edict*, pp. 20–21.

<sup>332</sup> R. Freudenberger, “Christenreskript,” *ZKG* (1967), pp. 11–12.

<sup>333</sup> Hadrian’s rescript to Minicius Fundanus (*HE* IV.9) was drawn from Justin.

The most plausible alternative is that Eusebius found the rescript to the Koinon of Asia attached to Melito's *Apology*. Eusebius indicates that Melito referred to this rescript, and he says nothing like this about Justin. Like Justin's *Apologies*, Melito's *Apology* was close at Eusebius' hand, for Eusebius quotes from this work later in Book IV. Even if Melito did not quote the whole of the rescript in his *Apology*, the Asian Melito (or some later scribe)<sup>334</sup> may have appended Pius' letter to the end of the work, as Justin appended Hadrian's rescript to his *First Apology*.

At IV.27 Eusebius turns to a catalogue of the works of *Apollinarius* of Hierapolis: "Of the many works by Apollinarius that are preserved by many people, these are the ones that have reached us," τοῦ δ' Ἀπολλιναρίου πολλῶν παρὰ πολλοῖς σφζομένων, τὰ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐλθόντα ἐστὶν τάδε. Eusebius reiterates his intention to list the works by Apollinarius that are in his possession.<sup>335</sup> Many other works, he admits, are preserved in the possession of others, but Eusebius' catalogue reflects what exists at Caesarea.<sup>336</sup> The first work in the catalogue is the λόγος ὁ πρὸς τὸν προειρημένον βασιλέα, the *Apologia* addressed to Marcus Aurelius. This treatise was presumably the work by Apollinarius to which Eusebius refers at *HE* V.5.4 for information on the famous "rain miracle" that occurred in about 172 against the Quadi.<sup>337</sup> In addition, there are Πρὸς Ἑλλήνας συγγράμματα πέντε,

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For the rescript of Gallienus, see the section on him above. Eusebius presumably found it relatively easy to procure contemporary imperial documents like those of Galerius at *HE* VIII.17 and Maximin Daia at *HE* IX.7.

<sup>334</sup> A. Wartelle, *Saint Justin, Apologies* (Paris, 1987), pp. 91–92, suggests that, while Melito's words at *HE* IV.26.10 ought not to be taken as a reference to Pius' rescript, the expression "to all the Greeks" may have prompted another Christian to fabricate the letter. In this case, Eusebius' reference to Melito at *HE* IV.13.8 would in reality be a mistaken inference based on the appearance of Pius' rescript at the end of Melito's work.

<sup>335</sup> If the *Chronicon Pachale* is correct in its citation of a *De pascha* by Apollinarius, then this work would seem to be one of those unknown to Eusebius. (The works *On Piety* and *On Truth* known to Photius [*cod.* 14] may be identical with the two books *De veritate* in Eusebius' list.) All of Apollinarius' works have been lost.

<sup>336</sup> There is no reason to doubt Eusebius' statement here, as W. Bauer, *Orthodoxy and Heresy*, p. 157, does. Bauer proposes that Eusebius learned of Apollinarius' works through the letter of Serapion of Antioch (which Eusebius quotes at *HE* V.19). It seems unnecessary, however, to doubt the truth of Eusebius' statement that he will report the works εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐλθόντα. Nevertheless, if Serapion did name any of Apollinarius' works other than his *Adversus Catafrygas* (and this point cannot be secured), his information might lie behind Eusebius' statement that many of Apollinarius' works are preserved among many people.

<sup>337</sup> Cf. Dio Cassius, 71.8–10. For the date, see J. Guey, "La date de la 'pluie miraculeuse' (172 après J.-C.) et la Colonne Aurélienne," *MEFR* 60 (1948) 105ff.;

five books *Against the Greeks*; *Περὶ ἀληθείας* α, β, two books *On Truth*; *Πρὸς Ἰουδαίους* α, β, two books *Against the Jews*; and, finally, ἂ μετὰ ταῦτα συνέγραψε κατὰ τῆς τῶν Φρυγῶν αἵρέσεως. The identity of this last work is disputed. Eusebius' words may be translated: "what things after these works Apollinarius wrote against the heresy of the Phrygians." Some scholars<sup>338</sup> identify these writings with the writings to which Serapion of Antioch refers at *HE* V.19.2, a text that requires further discussion.

In his treatment of Montanism, Eusebius introduces a letter from Serapion of Antioch to Caricus and Pontius, since Serapion refers to Apollinarius' works against the Montanist heresy.<sup>339</sup> In the extract that follows (*HE* V.19.2), Serapion tells his correspondents that he has sent them the *γράμματα* of Apollinarius. Eusebius then explains that in Serapion's letter signatures of various bishops are preserved, and two examples are then quoted (19.3).<sup>340</sup> Eusebius concludes with the observation that many other bishops' signatures are preserved ἐν τοῖς δηλωθεῖσιν γράμμασιν.<sup>341</sup> The difficulty lies in determining whether by "the said *γράμματα*" Eusebius means Apollinarius' writings or Serapion's letter. If the *γράμματα* are Apollinarius' writings, then they must have contained the bishops' signatures.<sup>342</sup> If, moreover, these *γράμματα* are to be identified with Apollinarius' anti-Montanist works referred to at *HE* IV.27, one may wonder why Eusebius relied on Serapion for extracts from Apollinarius rather than Apollinarius himself. It is possible, however, that, because Apollinarius wrote many things against the Montanists, Eusebius simply did not possess the

61 (1949), 93ff. See also M. M. Sage, "Eusebius and the Rain Miracle: Some Observations," *Historia* 26 (1987), pp. 96–113.

<sup>338</sup> Cf. Lawlor and Oulton, II.150 and 179.

<sup>339</sup> *HE* V.19.1: τῶν δὲ Ἀπολιναρίου κατὰ τῆς δηλωθείσης αἵρέσεως μνήμην πεποιήται Σεραπίων. . . . μέμνηται δ' αὐτοῦ ἐν ἰδίᾳ ἐπιστολῇ τῇ πρὸς Καρικὸν καὶ Πόντιον. . . . ("The [works] of Apollinarius against the said heresy have been mentioned by Serapion. . . . He mentions him in a personal epistle to Caricus and Pontius. . . ." [trans. Oulton].)

<sup>340</sup> *HE* V.19.3: ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ τῇ τοῦ Σεραπίωνος ἐπιστολῇ καὶ ὑποσημειώσεις φέρονται διαφόρων ἐπισκόπων. . . . ("in this letter by Serapion there are also extant signatures of various bishops").

<sup>341</sup> *HE* V.19.4: καὶ ἄλλων πλείων τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐπισκόπων συμφήφων τούτοις ἐν τοῖς δηλωθεῖσιν γράμμασιν αὐτόγραφοι φέρονται σημειώσεις. ("And the autograph signatures of a large number of other bishops, in agreement with the foregoing, are extant in the said letter" [trans. Oulton].)

<sup>342</sup> R. M. Grant, *Greek Apologists of the Second Century* (Philadelphia, 1988), p. 88, for example, understands the passage in this way.

particular work(s) used by Serapion, even though he did possess some of Apollinarius' anti-Montanist writings. On the other hand, despite Eusebius' use of the same word as that employed by Serapion for Apollinarius' writings, the γράμματα may be Serapion's letter (ἐπιστολή). In this case, Serapion's reference to the writings of Apollinarius is contained only in the first extract (19.2), and the bishops' signatures were collected by Serapion, probably from the records of earlier church councils, for inclusion in his letter.<sup>343</sup>

There seems no decisive evidence for this problem. The possibility that Eusebius relied on Serapion's use of Apollinarius for information that Eusebius could not obtain from Apollinarius directly obviously casts doubt on Eusebius' statement at *HE* IV.27 that he possessed Apollinarius' writings against the Montanists. Yet, this remains only one interpretation of the passage. In the absence of strong evidence for the meaning of the references in *HE* V.19, it seems best to accept Eusebius' testimony at *HE* IV.27.

*Musanus* Eusebius completes his survey of the authors named at IV.21 with a brief notice of Musanus (IV.28), an otherwise unknown figure: "And of Musanus, too, whom we included in the foregoing list of persons, there is extant a certain book in the nature of a very sharp rebuke, written by him to some brethren who were inclining toward the heresy of the Encratites, as they are called."<sup>344</sup> Musanus' treatise addressed to Christians who had fallen into the Encratite heresy, according to Eusebius, "is extant," by which it may be understood that Eusebius possessed a copy of the work, although he had no other information about this Musanus.

<sup>343</sup> Cf. P. de Labriolle, *La crise montaniste* (Paris, 1913), p. 155.

<sup>344</sup> *HE* IV.28: καὶ Μουσανοῦ δέ, ὃν ἐν τοῖς φθάσασιν κατελέξαμεν, φέρεται τις ἐπιστρεπτικώτατος λόγος, πρὸς τινὰς αὐτῷ γραφεὶς ἀδελφοὺς ἀποκλίναντας ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν λεγομένων Ἐγκρατιτῶν αἵρεσιν. . . . The translation is Oulton's.

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## CHAPTER EIGHT

### CONTEMPORARY DOCUMENTS

#### A. OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS IN THE *HISTORIA ECCLESIASTICA*

In the last three books of the *HE* Eusebius records the existence of, and often quotes from, several official documents issued during the Great Persecution. Except for Galerius' Edict of Toleration, Eusebius probably saw the documents he copied in *HE* VIII and IX when they were publicly posted and then had them copied down, or he obtained copies from the provincial government's archive. Eusebius could well have copied these documents specifically for inclusion in the *M.Pal.*, which he completed in 311, or even the *HE*, which Eusebius may have envisioned already in 311, rather than purely in order to be deposited in the library. The Constantinian documents from the West in *HE* X.5.15 through X.7 could not have come to Eusebius in the East by way of public postings and so must have another source, but they too may have been collected specifically for inclusion in one of Eusebius' works.

Listed below, in the order of their appearance, are the documents Eusebius refers to in the last books of the *HE*.

##### 1. *Edicts of Persecution* (303–309)

Eusebius refers to the first three edicts of persecution at *HE* VIII.2.4–5 (cf. *M.Pal.*[S] pr. 1–2; *HE* VIII.6.8–10), while other orders, the fourth (*M.Pal.* 3.1) and so-called fifth (*M.Pal.* 9.2; *HE* VIII.14.9) edicts of persecution, soon followed.<sup>1</sup> Although Eusebius does not directly quote from the edicts, their substance is clear: the first edict ordered the razing of churches, the handing over of Scripture, the loss of

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<sup>1</sup> The other important ancient witness to these edicts is Lactantius, who reports the first edict of persecution at *De mortibus persecutorum* 13.1; the fourth at *DMP* 15.4; and the fifth at *DMP* 36.4–5. For a summary of the chronology, see S. Mitchell, "Maximinus and the Christians in AD 312: a New Latin Inscription," *JRS* 78 (1988), pp. 111–112. For legal analysis, see S. Corcoran, *The Empire of the Tetrarchs: Imperial Pronouncements and Government, AD 284–324* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 179–186.



legal privileges for those of high status, and re-enslavement for members of the imperial household; the second edict required the arrest and imprisonment of leaders of the Church; the third edict demanded that these churchmen sacrifice; the fourth edict required all men to sacrifice; and the so-called fifth edict reinforced the fourth. All of the edicts must have become well known once they were promulgated; the first edict, for example, was publicly posted in Nicomedia and then quickly torn down by a Christian (*HE* VIII.5), who thereby ensured his martyrdom.

## 2. *Galerius' Edict of Toleration (30 April 311)*

Galerius' edict authorizing the toleration of Christianity was posted at Nicomedia on 30 April 311, and before the end of the month of May Galerius was dead.<sup>2</sup> Eusebius quotes a Greek version of this edict at *HE* VIII.17.3–10, a version that he may himself have translated from the Latin, to judge by his remark at the end of the document.<sup>3</sup> Yet, though in his introduction to the quotation Eusebius observes that the edict was promulgated city by city (*HE* VIII.17.2), Eusebius also states that Maximin Daia never published the edict in the provinces under his control, that is, in the diocese of Oriens (*HE* IX.1.1), where Eusebius lived. The absence of Galerius' edict from the long recension of the *M.Pal*, which was composed in 311, shows the truth of what Eusebius says at *HE* IX.1.1. Eusebius must therefore have obtained, at some time after 311 and before he completed the first edition of the *HE* in 313–314, a copy of the edict from one of Galerius' provinces in Asia, Pontus, or the dioceses on the Danube. Eusebius likely acquired his copy of the edict from a friend, either someone who lived in one of Galerius' provinces or someone who, for example, lived in Antioch and had information from Asia or Pontus.

<sup>2</sup> Lactantius, *DMP* 33.11–35, gives the edict in Latin; see *DMP* 35.1 for the date and location, *DMP* 35.4 for Galerius' death. See also T. D. Barnes, *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine* (Cambridge, MA, 1982), pp. 22–23; S. Mitchell, *JRS* (1988), pp. 112–113; S. Corcoran, *Empire*, pp. 186–187.

<sup>3</sup> *HE* VIII.17.11: ταῦτα κατὰ τὴν Ῥωμαίων φωνήν, ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλῶτταν κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν μεταληφθέντα, τοῦτον εἶχεν τὸν τρόπον. ("These things, having been translated from Roman speech into the Greek tongue as much as was possible, have this character.") E. A. Fisher, "Greek Translations of Latin Literature in the Fourth Century A. D.," *YCS* 27 (1982), pp. 200–203, accepts Eusebius' authorship of the translation and judges it "competent and even stylish."

### 3. Sabinus' Letter to the Governor of Palestine (mid-late 311)

At *HE* IX.1.3–6 Eusebius quotes a letter sent by the praetorian prefect Sabinus to provincial governors on relaxing the persecution.<sup>4</sup> The letter was originally written in Latin, but Eusebius quotes from a translation (*HE* IX.1.2), though it is unclear who is responsible for the translation. Presumably, Eusebius obtained a copy of this letter from its public posting or from the provincial archive.

### 4–5. *The Acts of Pilate and the Report of a Dux against Christians* (311–312)

Eusebius claims that Maximin Daia welcomed petitions against Christians, and as examples of incitements to persecution Eusebius cites the existence of forged *Acts of Pilate* and a scandalous report by a military commander.

Eusebius makes four references to *Acta Pilati*, an ostensible record of Jesus' trial before Pontius Pilate (*HE* I.9.3; I.11.9; IX.5; IX.7.1). There are references to similar works in two earlier Christian writers, Justin Martyr and Tertullian, but none of these references is very informative.<sup>5</sup> Justin probably did not make use of any *Acta Pilati*, but Tertullian, it seems, may have relied on a Christianized report that Pilate is to have made to the emperor.<sup>6</sup> The *Acta Pilati* that Eusebius knew were apparently anti-Christian fabrications produced during the persecution under Maximin Daia. At *HE* I.9.3, while discussing the dating of Pontius Pilate's administration, Eusebius refers to the inaccurate information of "the forgery of those things passed on very recently as memoirs against our Savior," τὸ πλάσμα τῶν κατὰ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ὑπομνήματα χθὲς καὶ πρόφην διαδεδοκότων. After quoting the *Testimonium Flavianum* (*HE* I.11.7–8), Eusebius briefly reiterates at *HE* I.11.9 that these ὑπομνήματα are obvious forgeries. The "very recent" dating, however, is made more specific at *HE* IX.5. Eusebius describes the zeal of the persecutors under Maximin Daia (*HE* IX.4.3) and further explains that blasphemous "memoirs of Pilate

<sup>4</sup> For background, see S. Mitchell, *JRS* (1988), pp. 113–114; S. Corcoran, *Empire*, pp. 148–149.

<sup>5</sup> Justin, *Apologia* I.35 and 48; Tertullian, *Apologia* 5 (quoted by Eusebius at *HE* II.2).

<sup>6</sup> For a discussion of the evidence of the *Acta Pilati*, including that of Justin and Tertullian, see J. Lémonon, *Pilate et le gouvernement de la Judée: textes et monuments* (Paris, 1981), pp. 249–258.

and our Savior,” Πιλάτου καὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ὑπομνήματα were sent out to be displayed in every city and to be memorized by school-boys. Eusebius makes a passing reference to this last outrage at *HE* IX.7.1 but adds no new information. Interestingly, Lucian of Antioch also refers to spurious *Acta Pilati* in his *Apologia*, which Rufinus records in his version of the *HE*.<sup>7</sup> No other references to these *Acta Pilati* exist (for they are distinct from the Christianized *Acta Pilati*, some favorable toward Pilate and others hostile, that emerge later in the fourth century), and it is likely that they were destroyed after the end of persecution, at least after Constantine gained control of the East. Eusebius was no doubt acquainted with the anti-Christian *Acta Pilati* from his recent experience of persecution, but there were probably no copies preserved in his library.

Similarly, Eusebius must have known of the ducal report made to the emperor and then circulated “to every place and city” (*HE* IX.5.2). The report probably originated in Phoenicia, since the *dux* who authored it used the testimony of prostitutes from Damascus to impugn Christian rites. Perhaps for this reason it was only posted in Phoenicia, though Eusebius’ friends in that province could have informed him of its contents. Even if Eusebius acquired an actual copy of the document, he may not have deemed it worthy of preservation in the library.

#### 6. Maximin Daia’s Rescript to Petitions (6 April 312)

Having encouraged petitions against Christians, Maximin Daia finally responded to such petitions in the spring of 312. A recently discov-

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<sup>7</sup> Rufinus, *HE* IX.6.3: *sed nec nos sua morte decepit, quibus post diem tertiam resurrexit, non ut ista, quae nunc falso conscribuntur, continent acta Pilati* . . . (“He did not by his death cheat us, for whom He resurrected on the third day, contrary to what those things contain which are now falsely called Acts of Pilate . . .”). See the entry on Lucian of Antioch in Chapter VII. If Rufinus excerpted Lucian’s apology from another source, as T. Christensen, *Rufinus of Aquileia and the Historia Ecclesiastica, Lib. VIII–IX, of Eusebius*, *Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser* 58 (Copenhagen, 1989), pp. 250–252, and R. Williams, *Arius: Heresy and Tradition* (London, 1987), pp. 164–165, believe, then this reference to *Acta Pilati* may be a genuine one of the fourth century. If, on the other hand, and as seems more likely, Rufinus himself composed Lucian’s apology, as G. Bardy, *Recherches sur Saint Lucien d’Antioche et son école* (Paris, 1936), pp. 133–163, argues, then this reference must be attributed to Rufinus, who naturally knew of the *Acta Pilati* from his translation of Eusebius’ *HE*. Rufinus may have manufactured this contemporary reference in Lucian’s apology in order to enhance the apology’s credibility.

ered inscription from Lycia-Pamphylia provides the date of 6 April 312, and another inscription, discovered earlier and from the same region, shows that Maximin's rescript was posted together with the petition it answered.<sup>8</sup> At *HE* IX.7.3–14 Eusebius quotes from this same rescript. He states in the heading over the document that his version came from Tyre, where it was posted on a stele, and that it was translated from Latin, though, again, it is unclear whether Eusebius translated the document himself.

#### 7. *Maximin Daia's Letter to Sabinus (November–December 312)*

At *HE* IX.9a.1–9 Eusebius produces the text of a letter sent by Maximin Daia to the praetorian prefect Sabinus in response to Constantine's victory over Maxentius at Rome. Again, Eusebius provides a translated copy but does not explicitly say who made the translation. Presumably, Eusebius copied this letter from a posted copy at Caesarea.<sup>9</sup>

#### 8. *Maximin Daia's Edict of Toleration (spring 313)*

In the midst of his contest with Licinius for possession of the East, Maximin declared the toleration of Christianity.<sup>10</sup> Eusebius provides a Greek translation of the original Latin at *HE* IX.10.7–11 (again, it is unclear whether Eusebius translated the document himself). Likely Eusebius found the Latin text publicly posted in Caesarea or he found it in the provincial archive.

#### 9. *Records from Antioch*

At *HE* IX.2–3 Eusebius singles out the *λογιστής* (*curator*) of Antioch, Theotecnus, for condemnation as a particularly zealous persecutor. His death after the fall of Maximin Daia is reported at *HE* IX.11.5–6. One modern scholar thinks that Eusebius' description of Theotecnus' actions in the former passage "may echo some of the phrasing of

<sup>8</sup> For the recently discovered inscription at Colbassa, see S. Mitchell, *JRS* (1988), pp. 105–111 (= AE 1988, 1046), who also provides the text of the inscription from Arycanda (AE 1988, 1047 = CIL 3.12132). Both inscriptions are in Latin; the one from Arycanda includes parts of the petition in Greek. See also S. Corcoran, *Empire*, pp. 149–151, who thinks that Eusebius is responsible for the Greek translation.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. S. Corcoran, *Empire*, p. 188, but also p. 152; S. Mitchell, *JRS* (1988), pp. 114–115.

<sup>10</sup> S. Mitchell, *JRS* (1988), p. 115; S. Corcoran, *Empire*, p. 189.

the original petition” against Christians that Theotecnus brought to Maximin Daia on behalf of the city of Antioch in 311–312.<sup>11</sup> But if the evidence that Eusebius saw Theotecnus’ petition is not decisive, there is at least a passage in another of Eusebius’ works that suggests that Eusebius had special information about Theotecnus. At *PE* IV.2.10–11 Eusebius refers to advocates of oracles who were unmasked in Roman courts, their testimony recorded ἐν ὑπομνήμασιν; included among these pagans were magistrates at Antioch during the persecution. It is possible that Eusebius here refers to the transcript of Theotecnus’ trial after the persecution’s end.<sup>12</sup>

#### 10. *Licinius’ Rescript on Toleration (“Edict of Milan”) (13 June 313)*

At *HE* X.5.2–14 Eusebius gives the Greek text, translated from Latin, of a rescript that has traditionally been called the “Edict of Milan,” in part because its substance, a declaration of religious toleration and the restitution of property to Christians, was agreed to by Constantine and Licinius in February 313 at Milan (cf. *HE* X.5.4).<sup>13</sup> Lactantius provides the Latin text of this same rescript, together with the information that it was issued by Licinius on 13 June and posted at Nicomedia (*DMP* 48). Eusebius is likely to have copied his version from what was publicly posted at Caesarea somewhat later, since the governor was ordered to publish the emperor’s letter (*HE* X.5.14).<sup>14</sup> It is again unclear who made the translation of the rescript.

#### 11. *Constantinian Documents*

The remaining five documents in the *HE* (X.5.15 through X.7) were all issued by Constantine in the West between the winter of 312–313 and the spring of 314.<sup>15</sup> Constantine most likely sent these letters in

<sup>11</sup> S. Mitchell, *JRS* (1988), p. 117, note 32; cf. p. 120.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Lawlor and Oulton, II.304.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. S. Corcoran, *Empire*, pp. 158–160 and 189; T. D. Barnes, *CE*, pp. 62–65. Barnes laments use of the term “Edict of Milan” in “Constantine and Christianity,” *ζAC* 2 (2) (1998), pp. 280–281.

<sup>14</sup> But E. Carotenuto, “Six Constantinian Documents (Eus. *HE* 10, 5–7),” *Vigiliae Christianae* 56 (2002), pp. 70–71, suggests that Eusebius acquired the rescript as part of a Western collection that included the other Constantinian documents at *HE* X.5.15–X.7 (discussed below).

<sup>15</sup> On most of these letters, including their dates, see S. Corcoran, *Empire*, pp. 153–160. The letters have been collected by P. Silli, ed., *Testi costantiniani nelle fonti letterarie*, Accademia romanistica costantiniana: materiali per una palinogenesi delle costituzioni tardo-imperiali 3 (Milan, 1987), pp. 1–6; 11–12; 17–19.

Latin, but Eusebius gives Greek texts without stating the source of the Greek translations. The documents are confined to the manuscripts ATERM and can be assigned to an edition (the second) of the *HE* composed ca. 315–316. Eusebius therefore seems to have acquired them within a year or two of their composition, although none of them would have been officially circulated to the East, where Constantine had no power. B. H. Warmington, pointing to the most important thing the documents have in common, that Constantine issued them, has suggested that Eusebius received the documents, directly or indirectly, from a Christian official in the government.<sup>16</sup> Plausible though this suggestion is, it may be just as likely that Eusebius received the documents from an official in the Church. All of the letters either were sent to Africa, where the Donatist schism occurred, or concern ecclesiastical councils (at Rome and Arles) convoked to settle the schism, so it is conceivable that Eusebius acquired, directly or indirectly, these documents from a bishop involved in the Donatist schism.<sup>17</sup>

One other passage in the *HE* may come from the same, or a similar, Western source. At *HE* IX.9.11 Eusebius provides the Greek text of an inscription on a statue of Constantine that was erected at Rome after Constantine's victory over Maxentius.<sup>18</sup> The passage is included in the manuscripts ATER, so it must have been included in at least the edition of 315–316, like the Constantinian documents

<sup>16</sup> B. H. Warmington, "The Sources of Some Constantinian Documents in Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* and *Life of Constantine*," *Studia Patristica* 18.1 (1985), pp. 93–94. Alternatively, E. Carotenuto, *Vigiliae Christianae* (2002), pp. 68–69, suggests that the judges who were appointed to inform the emperor about the Donatist controversy (*HE* X.5.20) prior to the Council of Rome in late 314 could have been Eusebius' sources.

<sup>17</sup> S. Corcoran, *Empire*, p. 21, note 72, suggests that Bishop Chrestus of Syracuse, the addressee of Constantine's letter at *HE* X.5.21, was Eusebius' source. T. D. Barnes, "The Constantinian Settlement," *Eusebius, Christianity, and Judaism*, H. W. Attridge and G. Hata, edd., p. 648, had earlier suggested that Eusebius' source was "some personal contact" at Syracuse. R. M. Grant, *Eusebius as Church Historian* (Oxford, 1980), speaks of a possible "earlier collector of documents" (p. 161) and a "dossier, such as it was" (p. 162) related to the Donatist schism. It does not seem necessary, however, to believe, as Grant does, that such a dossier had to be compiled before, rather than after, the Synod of Arles in August 314. E. Carotenuto, *Vigiliae Christianae* (2002), pp. 73–74, concludes only that the five Constantinian documents, together with the "Edict of Milan," were "grouped together in an anti-Donatist milieu for apologetic purposes," came to Eusebius from Rome, and were translated into Greek at Caesarea by someone other than Eusebius.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. also Eusebius, *VC* I.40; also *Pan. Lat* XII (IX).25.

in *HE* X discussed above. Perhaps the Christian nature of this statue and its inscription (for the sculpted figure of Constantine held what Eusebius calls a “memorial of the Savior’s passion”) sped report of it throughout the whole Empire.

(a) Constantine’s Letter to Anulinus, Proconsul of Africa (winter 312–313). Eusebius provides the text of this letter, on the restoration of property to Christians, at *HE* X.5.15–17.

(b) Constantine’s Letter to Pope Miltiades and Mark (June 313). This letter appears at *HE* X.5.18–20. It concerns a council to be held at Rome to resolve the Donatist schism.

(c) Constantine’s Letter to Chrestus, Bishop of Syracuse (spring 314). This letter appears at *HE* X.5.21–24 and provides for Chrestus’ appearance at the Synod of Arles, to be held in August 314.

(d) Constantine’s Letter to Caecilianus, Bishop of Carthage (winter 312–313). Eusebius quotes this letter, which concerns the payment of cash to particular churchmen and the defense of the Church against, apparently, Donatists, at *HE* X.6.1–5.

(e) Constantine’s Letter to Anulinus (February 313). At *HE* X.7.1–2 Eusebius produces the text of this letter to the proconsul of Africa. Catholic clergymen are granted release from public liturgies.

## B. MATERIALS IN THE *VITA CONSTANTINI*

There is still much uncertainty about the composition of Eusebius’ *Vita Constantini*: when he collected the documents in it, when he wrote the work, to what genre the work belongs, and to what extent the work was left unfinished by Eusebius at his death. Questions of genre and the state of the text may for the present be left aside.<sup>19</sup> Regarding

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<sup>19</sup> T. D. Barnes, “Panegyric, History and Hagiography in Eusebius’ Life of Constantine,” *The Making of Orthodoxy: Essays in Honour of Henry Chadwick*, R. Williams, ed. (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 94–123, draws upon the work of G. Pasquali, “Die Composition des Vita Constantini des Eusebius,” *Hermes* 46 (1910), pp. 369–386, to argue that the Life “represents a conflation of a panegyric and a documentary history of a hagiographical nature” (p. 110). Averil Cameron, “Eusebius’ *Vita Constantini* and the Construction of Constantine,” *Portraits: Biographical Representation in the Greek and Latin Literature of the Roman Empire*, M. J. Edwards and S. Swain, edd. (Oxford, 1997), emphasizes the apologetic nature of the work and sees it as a proto-

the other questions, it will be sufficient to state that Eusebius may have begun to write the *VC* as early as 324, and that, even if he only *wrote* the work after Constantine's death in 337, he may have begun to collect documents as early as 324.

Most of the letters from Constantine were either posted publicly or were sent to Eusebius or other bishops. Letters addressed to Eusebius himself as bishop, as well as other letters relating to ecclesiastical affairs, are likely to have been deposited into the library's collection of ecclesiastical records (its archive) once they were completed or received. Of those letters publicly posted, some may have been inscribed on durable monuments, but others may have been posted on impermanent wooden boards, papyrus, or linen sheets. Eusebius may thus have had to acquire copies of the letters displayed on these latter materials relatively soon after these documents were posted, before they were damaged, therefore relatively soon after 324. T. D. Barnes has called attention to the fact that three manuscripts of the *HE* contain Constantine's letter to the people of Palestine in 324, a letter that was included in the *VC* (II.24–42), so that one may conjecture that Eusebius had already begun to collect materials for some sort of sequel to the *HE*.<sup>20</sup> As he did with the documents in the *HE*, Eusebius may thus have collected some of the documents in the *VC* (for example, Constantine's letter to the provincials of Palestine) specifically for a projected work on Constantine and not just for the collection of the library. Eusebius could, in addition, have used the provincial governor's archive at Caesarea, since this office would likely have contained copies of the more important legal decisions and official information. When, for example, Eusebius composed his *Onomasticon*, a sort of biblical gazetteer, he seems to have had access to the governor's office.<sup>21</sup>

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type of a saint's life. A. Wilson, "Biographical Models: the Constantinian Period and Beyond," *Constantine: History, Historiography, and Legend*, S. Lieu and D. Montserrat, edd. (London, 1998), pp. 112–121, speaks of "a fusion of the *bios* in an authoritative documentary form . . . together with funerary panegyric . . . resulting in a revolutionary form of hagiography" (p. 113).

<sup>20</sup> T. D. Barnes, "Panegyric," p. 114.

<sup>21</sup> B. Isaac, "Eusebius and the Geography of Roman Provinces," *The Near East under Roman Rule: Selected Papers*, Mnemosyne Suppl. 177 (Leiden, 1998), pp. 284–309. On the other hand, T. D. Barnes, *CE*, pp. 108–109, emphasizes the possibility that Eusebius' sources for the *Onomasticon* were personal familiarity with the land and the oral reports of others.



### 1. *Laws of Licinius (between 321 and 324)*

Eusebius' description of Licinius' measures of persecution expands upon what Eusebius related in his *HE*. None of the measures is quoted, but presumably Eusebius saw public copies of edicts, copied them from the provincial archive, or simply knew of the existence of Licinius' orders from experience. So, for example, it is quite likely that the νόμος prohibiting episcopal synods and travel and communication by bishops was publicly posted as an edict, as was the δεύτερος νόμος that ordered that women be separated from men in prayer and education and, if it was not a separate law, that religious gatherings be held outside city-walls.<sup>22</sup> Other laws, the decision that all soldiers sacrifice, the prohibition on giving food to prisoners, and the new assessment of taxes on land, could simply have become a matter of popular knowledge, if Eusebius did not actually see a posted copy of the orders or a copy in a governmental records office.<sup>23</sup>

Another passage may be considered here: at *VC* II.5.2–4 Eusebius quotes the speech Licinius gave before his final battle with Constantine. While one may be inclined to think this speech a complete fabrication—and it is introduced quite obliquely with the words “he [Licinius] is said to have delivered such a speech,” τοιόνδε λόγον ἀποδοῦναι λέγεται—Eusebius does maintain that he was informed of the speech by witnesses (*VC* II.5.5).

### 2. *Laws of Constantine*

Eusebius refers to a number of laws issued by Constantine, though Eusebius' source seems often to be his experience living under Constantine's reign for more than a decade. For example, S. G. Hall has investigated the source of a measure referred to at *VC* I.41.3, and he has concluded that Eusebius simply combined his personal experience with knowledge of specific laws like the “Edict of Milan.”<sup>24</sup>

<sup>22</sup> The first prohibition appears at *VC* I.51.1. The other two orders are recorded at *VC* I.53.1 and 2. S. Corcoran, *Empire*, p. 195, supposes that all of these orders were edicts.

<sup>23</sup> On sacrifice: *VC* I.54.1 (cf. *HE* X.8.10). On charity to prisoners: *VC* I.54.2 (cf. *HE* X.8.11). On taxation: *VC* I.55 (cf. *HE* X.8.12); see also T. D. Barnes, *CE*, p. 70. The same situation probably holds true for the law of Maximin Daia that Christians have their eyes put out (*VC* I.58.2; cf. *HE* VIII.13–14).

<sup>24</sup> S. G. Hall, “Eusebian and Other Sources in Vita Constantini I,” *Logos: Festschrift*

Less charitably, B. H. Warmington characterizes Eusebius' information about Constantinian laws as "paraphrases, presumably based on hearsay."<sup>25</sup>

Eusebius reports that government officials from governor to praetorian prefect were prohibited from sacrificing (*VC* II.44); that Constantine prohibited the erection of images, divination, and sacrifice (*VC* II.45); that images of Constantine were forbidden to be placed in temples (*VC* IV.16); that Sunday was designated a day of rest (*VC* IV.18; cf. *Cod. Theod.* II.8.1; *Cod. Just.* III.12.2); that even pagan soldiers were ordered to pray to God (*VC* IV.19, in which the prayer is quoted in Greek); that magic was forbidden (*VC* IV.25.1; cf. *Cod. Theod.* IX.16.1–2); that gladiatorial combats were halted (*VC* IV.25.1; cf. *Cod. Theod.* XV.12.1); that an Egyptian pagan priesthood was banned (*VC* IV.25.2); that restrictions on inheritance were raised (*VC* IV.26; cf. *Cod. Theod.* XVIII.16.1); that Jews were prohibited from having Christian slaves (*VC* IV.27.1; cf. *Cod. Theod.* XVI.9.1–2); and that episcopal synods were given imperial sanction (*VC* IV.27.2).<sup>26</sup>

### 3–4. *Constantine's Letter to the Provincials of Palestine (October 324)*

Eusebius explains at *VC* II.23.2 that Constantine published two letters after his victory over Licinius, one directed to the churches and one to the people in the cities. At *VC* II.24–42 Eusebius quotes the text of what must be the second letter, for it is addressed "to the provincials of Palestine."<sup>27</sup> Eusebius adds that the copy in his possession is "authentic," signed by the emperor himself (*VC* II.23.3). However this statement is to be understood, Eusebius most likely

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*für Luise Abramowski*, H. C. Brennecke et al., edd., *Beiheft zur ZNTW 67* (Berlin, 1993), pp. 255–256.

<sup>25</sup> B. H. Warmington, "Eusebius of Caesarea and the Governance of Constantine," *Ancient History in a Modern University*, T. W. Hillard, et al., edd. (Macquarie, 1998), p. 275. Warmington criticizes Eusebius for his inaccuracy in reporting the content of Constantine's laws and implies that Eusebius must not have consulted the provincial archive for his information.

<sup>26</sup> On these laws in general, see B. H. Warmington, "Eusebius of Caesarea's Versions of Constantine's Laws in the Codes," *Studia Patristica* 24 (1993), pp. 201–207. There has been much recent debate over one particular law, Constantine's ban on pagan sacrifice: see T. D. Barnes, "Constantine's Prohibition of Pagan Sacrifice," *AJP* 105 (1984), pp. 69–72; R. M. Errington, "Constantine and the Pagans," *GRBS* 29 (1988), pp. 309–318; S. Bradbury, "Constantine and the Problem of Anti-pagan Legislation in the Fourth Century," *CP* 89 (1994), pp. 120–139.

<sup>27</sup> *VC* II.24–42 = P. Silli, *Testi costantiniani*, pp. 38–50.

obtained his copy of the letter from a public posting, instructions for which are found at the end of the document,<sup>28</sup> or he found it in the provincial archive. The text was evidently available to Eusebius in Greek, since Eusebius reports that Constantine issued the letter in both Greek and Latin (*VC* II.23.1). Independent confirmation of the genuineness of the letter came in 1954, when A. H. M. Jones, prompted by a suggestion of C. E. Stevens, identified the Greek text of P. Lond. 878 as part (*VC* II.26–29) of Constantine's letter.<sup>29</sup>

While Eusebius obviously acquired a copy of Constantine's letter to the people in the cities, one expects that Eusebius also possessed a copy of the letter sent to the churches. Such a letter would presumably have been deposited in the ecclesiastical archives. Recently, S. G. Hall has even argued that the chapters preceding the quotation of Constantine's letter, *VC* II.20–21, which themselves summarize many of the actions taken by Constantine on behalf of the Church, are not merely a summary of Constantine's letter to the provincials but are a resume of the other letter Constantine sent, that to the churches.<sup>30</sup>

### 5. *Constantine's First Letter to Eusebius (late 324)*

At *VC* II.46 Eusebius quotes the text of Constantine's first letter to him (as Eusebius refers to it at *VC* II.45.2). A similar letter was sent to other bishops in other provinces and to government officials, since the letter contained a general order to repair and rebuild churches and to build new churches.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>28</sup> *VC* II.42: προτεθήτω ἐν τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἀνατολικοῖς μέρεσιν ("Let this be displayed in our eastern provinces"). Cf. S. Corcoran, *Empire*, p. 22, note 77.

<sup>29</sup> A. H. M. Jones, "Notes on the Genuineness of the Constantinian Documents in Eusebius' *Life of Constantine*," *JEH* 5 (1954), pp. 196–200 (with an appendix by T. C. Skeat). Jones's article effectively ended scepticism over Eusebius' authorship of the *VC* and the genuineness of the documents in the works. For the history of this controversy, see F. Winkelmann, "Zur Geschichte des Authentizitätsproblems der *Vita Constantini*," *Klio* 40 (1962), pp. 187–243.

<sup>30</sup> S. G. Hall, "Some Constantinian Documents in the *Vita Constantini*," *Constantine: History*, pp. 97–99.

<sup>31</sup> *VC* II.46 = P. Silli, *Testi costantiniani*, pp. 51–53. On this letter, see also S. Corcoran, *Empire*, p. 316. T. D. Barnes, "Panegyric," p. 111, dates the letter to shortly after October 324.

6. *Constantine's Letter to the Eastern Provinces (late 324 to 325/6)*

Constantine issued a letter condemning idolatry soon after he gained possession of the East.<sup>32</sup> At *VC* II.48–60 Eusebius produces the text of this letter, which he states was translated from Latin into Greek (*VC* II.47.2), though it is unclear whether the translation was official or was done by Eusebius. Presumably, this letter was publicly posted at Caesarea<sup>33</sup> or was available in a governmental records office.

7. *Constantine's Letter to Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria, and Arius (325)*

At *VC* II.64–72 Eusebius quotes a letter that Constantine addressed to Alexander of Alexandria and Arius in an attempt to persuade reconciliation and an end to ecclesiastical dissension.<sup>34</sup> Eusebius explains that the letter was taken to Alexandria by one “of the Christians around him [Constantine]” (τῶν ἀμφ’ αὐτὸν θεοσεβῶν) (*VC* II.63). Socrates the church historian (I.16.5) identifies this messenger as Ossius of Cordova, and that has been the traditionally accepted identification until recently. B. H. Warmington contends that Eusebius’ description of this messenger implies a layman, not a bishop like Ossius, and so he prefers to identify the messenger as a governmental official, perhaps the *notarius* Marianus, who is later named in a chapter-heading (IV.44).<sup>35</sup> S. G. Hall, while allowing for the possibility that the messenger was an imperial official and not Ossius of Cordova, argues that the letter was sent to the Council of Antioch (325) and not to Alexander and Arius in Alexandria.<sup>36</sup> If Constantine did send the letter to Alexandria, Eusebius could have obtained a copy of the letter from ecclesiastical friends, perhaps Arius’ partisans.<sup>37</sup> If, however, the letter was sent to Antioch, then Eusebius,

<sup>32</sup> *VC* II.48–60 = P. Silli, *Testi costantiniani*, pp. 54–61. T. D. Barnes, “Panegyric,” p. 111 dates the letter to 325 or 326; S. Corcoran, *Empire*, p. 316 puts it in late 324.

<sup>33</sup> So also T. D. Barnes, “Panegyric,” p. 111.

<sup>34</sup> *VC* II.64–72 = P. Silli, *Testi costantiniani*, pp. 62–73.

<sup>35</sup> B. H. Warmington, “Sources,” *Studia Patristica* (1985), pp. 94–96.

<sup>36</sup> S. G. Hall, “Some Constantinian Documents,” *Constantine: History*, pp. 86–97.

<sup>37</sup> T. D. Barnes, “Panegyric,” p. 111 thinks that the letter circulated among both Arians and orthodox. But, B. H. Warmington, “Sources,” *Studia Patristica* (1985), pp. 94–95, views Constantine’s letter as a private one that neither the Arian nor the orthodox parties would have wished to publicize, and so he suggests that Eusebius obtained the letter from someone in the administration like Marianus.

who was excommunicated at the Council of Antioch, accordingly obtained his copy of the letter at this synod.

### 8. *Documents from the Council of Nicaea (325)*

Eusebius may be faulted for providing such little, and distorted, information about the first ecumenical council. Even so, Eusebius refers to or quotes from a number of documents that he received just prior to or at the Council of Nicaea in the summer of 325.

(a) Imperial Summons. Constantine sent bishops a summons to the council (*VC* III.6), a copy of which Eusebius presumably received.

(b) Constantine's Opening Speech. After an initial speech by a man named Eusebius, presumably the bishop of Nicomedia (*VC* III.11), Constantine delivered his own speech, which Eusebius quotes at *VC* III.12. Eusebius adds that Constantine spoke in Latin but that his words were translated into Greek (*VC* III.13.1), and it must be this officially translated version that Eusebius uses.

(c) Creed and Canons. Eusebius was rehabilitated at the Council of Nicaea. He must have signed and received a copy of the credal statement and canons of the council (*VC* III.14).

(d) Constantine's Letter to the Churches. Shortly after the council had concluded its deliberations, Constantine issued a letter addressed to the churches concerning the date of Easter. Eusebius quotes this letter at *VC* III.17–20.<sup>38</sup>

(e) Constantine's Farewell Speech. Constantine delivered a speech of farewell to the bishops.<sup>39</sup> Eusebius refers to this speech at *VC* III.21, and, indeed, *VC* III.21.1–3, seems to be a summary of Constantine's words. It is quite possible that Eusebius received a copy of this speech.

### 9. *Constantine's Letter of 327*

Eusebius reports that Constantine later sent out another letter in response to ecclesiastical division in Egypt (*VC* III.23). This letter

<sup>38</sup> *VC* III.17–20 = P. Silli, *Testi costantiniani*, pp. 84–90.

<sup>39</sup> T. D. Barnes, *CE*, p. 219, envisions this speech as having occurred after a feast in honor of Constantine's *vicennalia*.

was issued, Eusebius reports, after Constantine called the opposing parties together, probably a reference to a synod held at Nicomedia in 327, when Arius gained readmission to the Church.<sup>40</sup> Eusebius presumably possessed a copy of this letter.

10. *Constantine's Letter to Macarius, Bishop of Jerusalem (ca. 326)*

Constantine sent a letter to Macarius of Jerusalem to congratulate him on the discovery of the cave of the Holy Sepulchre and to give permission to build a church on the site (*VC* III.30–32). Macarius alone is the addressee, but it is not difficult to imagine that Macarius, happy to have the attention and support of the emperor, forwarded a copy to his metropolitan, Eusebius.<sup>41</sup>

11. *Constantine's Letter to Macarius and the Other Bishops of Palestine (ca. 328)*

The text of another letter from Constantine to Macarius, but this time also to the other bishops in Palestine, appears at *VC* III.52–53.<sup>42</sup> Constantine encourages the bishops to destroy the idols that cover the Oak of Mambre and to construct a church on the holy spot. Eusebius indicates in his introduction to the letter that he was himself sent a copy of the letter.<sup>43</sup>

12. *Documents regarding the Deposition of Eustathius of Antioch (between 328 and 329)*

In late 328 Eusebius participated in a synod at Antioch that deposed Eustathius, the city's bishop.<sup>44</sup> According to what can be gleaned

<sup>40</sup> The synod at Nicomedia is an accepted scholarly conjecture: see R. P. C. Hanson, *Search*, pp. 175–178. T. D. Barnes, *CE*, p. 266, assumes that Eusebius was present at it.

<sup>41</sup> *VC* III.30–32 = P. Silli, *Testi costantiniani*, pp. 115–118. For the date, see T. D. Barnes, “Panegyric,” p. 111: 326 or shortly thereafter because the letter refers to the *vicarius* Dracilianus (*VC* III.31.2). On the ecclesiastical tensions caused by imperial interest in the Holy Land, see P. W. L. Walker, *Holy City, Holy Places? Christian Attitudes to Jerusalem and the Holy Land in the Fourth Century* (Oxford, 1990), especially pp. 235–281 on the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

<sup>42</sup> *VC* III.52–53 = P. Silli, *Testi costantiniani*, pp. 131–134. Silli dates the letter to 330–331, but T. D. Barnes, “Panegyric,” p. 111, puts it in ca. 328 because of the occurrence of the name of the *comes* Acacius.

<sup>43</sup> *VC* III.51.2: . . . ἡμῖν δὲ τοῖς τήνδε γράφουσι τὴν ἱστορίαν λογικωτέραν κατέπεμπε διδασκαλίαν (“he sent to us, the writer of this history, quite an eloquent instruction”).

<sup>44</sup> For the date, see R. W. Burgess, “The Date of the Deposition of Eustathius

from the three letters Eusebius quotes at *VC* III.60–62, Eusebius was a candidate to succeed Eustathius, though he declined the offer. Eusebius was sent one letter by Constantine, and in that letter Constantine refers Eusebius to the other two letters, so that it is plain that Constantine sent copies of the other two letters to Eusebius. Briefly, the letters are:

- (a) Constantine's Letter to the People of Antioch (*VC* III.60).
- (b) Constantine's Letter to Eusebius (*VC* III.61).
- (c) Constantine's Letter to the Bishops Assembled at Antioch (*VC* III.62).

In addition, to these letters, Eusebius will naturally have brought back to Caesarea the canons drawn up at the council.

### 13. *Constantine's Edict to Heretics (before 25 September 326)*

At *VC* III.64–65 Eusebius quotes the text of an imperial edict prohibiting heretics from assembling. The edict ends with the instruction *προτεθήτω* (*VC* III.65.3), which indicates that the text was posted publicly. Presumably, Eusebius copied it from this posting<sup>45</sup> or from a copy in the provincial archive.

### 14. *Constantine's Letter to Sapor, King of Persia (ca. 325–330)*

At *VC* IV.9–13 Eusebius quotes the text of a letter Constantine sent, at an uncertain date after 324, to the king of Persia (Sapor, according to the chapter-heading to *VC* IV.9).<sup>46</sup> Because the letter is a rare example of diplomatic correspondence between the leaders of two

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of Antioch," *JTS* 51 (2000), pp. 150–160. P. Silli, *Testi costantiniani*, pp. 135–144, reproduces the letters, which he dates to 330–331. On Eusebius' participation, see Theodoret, *HE* I.21.

<sup>45</sup> *VC* III.64–65 = P. Silli, *Testi costantiniani*, pp. 110–114. For the date, see T. D. Barnes, "Panegyric," p. 112. For public posting, see S. Corcoran, *Empire*, p. 22, note 77.

<sup>46</sup> *VC* IV.9–13 = P. Silli, *Testi costantiniani*, pp. 126–130. On this letter, see T. D. Barnes, "Constantine and the Christians of Persia," *JRS* 75 (1985), pp. 126–136; also M. R. Vivian, "Eusebius and Constantine's Letter to Shapur: Its Place in the *Vita Constantini*," *Studia Patristica* 29 (1997), pp. 164–169. Barnes (1985), p. 131 dates the letter to 324/5; in "Panegyric," p. 112, he puts it ca. 325. P. Silli, *Testi costantiniani*, p. 126, dates it to 330.

empires, there has been much discussion over how Eusebius obtained his copy of the letter.

In his introduction to the work Eusebius explains: "There is, therefore, extant among us in the Roman tongue even this letter of the emperor in his own hand; it would be more intelligible to my readers translated into the Greek language, being such as follows."<sup>47</sup> It seems from this passage that Eusebius possessed a copy of this letter in Latin, a copy written by no less than the emperor. Now, even if *ιδιόγραφον* means that the original letter was written by the emperor, not what Eusebius had in front of him, it is still curious that Eusebius possessed a Latin version of it. For this reason, T. D. Barnes is probably correct to reject his earlier view that Constantine circulated copies of the letter, since in this case Eusebius would probably have obtained only an official Greek translation.<sup>48</sup> (On the other hand, Eusebius may have acquired an official Greek text for his *VC*, or he may have translated the document himself. However it is decided, it does not explain why Eusebius possessed a Latin text.)

There are three recent solutions to this question. H. A. Drake thinks that Eusebius obtained the letter from imperial archives in Constantinople between 335 and 337.<sup>49</sup> Barnes thinks that Eusebius, with a work devoted to Constantine already in mind, asked Constantine for a copy of the letter at the Council of Nicaea.<sup>50</sup> B. H. Warmington suggests that Eusebius obtained the letter from an official in the administration.<sup>51</sup> This last suggestion may be the most plausible one: Eusebius could have obtained the letter from a friend in the government (or from a friend of a friend), though he may have done so while near the capital (at Nicaea in 325, or at Constantinople in 335–336).

<sup>47</sup> *VC* IV.8: φέρεται μὲν οὖν Ῥωμαίᾳ γλώττῃ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἡμῖν καὶ τοῦτο τὸ βασιλέως ἰδιόγραφον γράμμα, μεταβληθὲν δ' ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλήνων φωνὴν γνωριμώτερον γένοιτ' ἂν τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν, ὡδὲ πῃ περιέχον.

<sup>48</sup> T. D. Barnes, "Panegyric," p. 113.

<sup>49</sup> H. A. Drake, "What Eusebius Knew: the Genesis of the *Vita Constantini*," *CP* 83 (1988), pp. 28–29.

<sup>50</sup> T. D. Barnes, "Panegyric," pp. 112–113.

<sup>51</sup> B. H. Warmington, "The Sources," *Studia Patristica* (1985), pp. 94–96.



15. *Constantine's Oration to the Assembly of Saints*

The date on which Constantine delivered the extant *Oratio ad sanctorum coetum* is disputed.<sup>52</sup> The speech is included in all of the manuscripts of the *VC*, and Eusebius even declares his intention to append a copy of it to the *VC* at IV.32. Presumably, Eusebius acquired one of the officially translated versions, since, to judge by his behavior at the council of Nicaea, Constantine was accustomed to give speeches in Latin that were then translated into Greek (*VC* III.13.1).

16. *Constantine's Letter to Eusebius (late 335–336?)*

At *VC* IV.35 Eusebius quotes a letter sent to him by Constantine in gratitude for a treatise on dating the feast of Easter that Eusebius had sent to the emperor.<sup>53</sup>

17. *Constantine's Letter to Eusebius Requesting Copies of Scripture*

At *VC* IV.36 Eusebius quotes another letter sent to him by Constantine. This letter contains the famous request for fifty copies of the Scriptures for the churches of Constantinople.<sup>54</sup>

18. *Constantine's Letter to the Synod of Tyre (summer 335)*

The synod convened at Tyre in 335 is most famous for its condemnation of Athanasius. Eusebius must have obtained the letter he quotes at *VC* IV.42, an exhortation from Constantine to the assembled bishops, at the synod, where it was probably brought by the *notarius* Marianus (according to the chapter heading at *VC* IV.44).<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> The most recent attempt to date the speech (with references to earlier discussions) is made by T. D. Barnes, "Constantine's *Speech to the Assembly of the Saints: Place and Date of Delivery*," *JTS* 52 (2001), pp. 26–36.

<sup>53</sup> *VC* IV.35 = P. Silli, *Testi costantiniani*, pp. 91–92. Silli dates the letter to 325, after 19 June. T. D. Barnes, "Panegyric," p. 112, dates the letter to some time after Eusebius' visit to Constantinople in November 335. Eusebius calls the treatise he sent Constantine *Περὶ τῆς ἀγιωτάτης τοῦ πάσχα ἑορτῆς* (*On the Holiest Feast of Easter*).

<sup>54</sup> *VC* IV.36 = P. Silli, *Testi costantiniani*, pp. 149–152. The date of the letter is uncertain. Silli dates the letter to 333. T. D. Barnes, "Panegyric," p. 112, pairs it with the previous letter and thus dates it to 335/6.

<sup>55</sup> *VC* IV.42 = P. Silli, *Testi costantiniani*, pp. 181–184.

19. *Constantine's Speech on the Immortality of the Soul* (337)

Eusebius reports that, shortly before his death, Constantine composed and delivered a speech on the immortality of the soul and its final judgment (*VC* IV.55.2). Although one scholar has suggested that Eusebius was in Constantinople at this time, perhaps even in attendance on the emperor, one wonders whether Eusebius relied upon other reports of this event.<sup>56</sup>

It is important to call attention to two final passages, for both indicate that Eusebius possessed more of Constantine's letters than were included in the *VC*.

At *VC* III.24.2 Eusebius observes that it would be possible to include more letters by Constantine, although he has not done so in order to limit the size of the *VC*.<sup>57</sup> One can assume that Eusebius did have other Constantinian letters in his possession. Perhaps among these letters were those sent by Constantine to the pagans at Heliopolis in Phoenicia, to which Eusebius makes brief reference at *VC* III.58.2.

The second passage provides even firmer evidence. At *VC* III.59.3–4, in his discussion of the discord at Antioch (ca. 328–329), Eusebius explains that he has omitted letters sent by Constantine that reflect poorly on the people involved in the controversy; instead, Eusebius includes only (μόνας) the letters regarding the establishment of peace at Antioch. Three letters follow (*VC* III.60–62), but doubtless Eusebius possessed more.<sup>58</sup>

In the context of the dispute over Arianism, it is certain that Eusebius acquired more than just letters from Constantine. In addition to the ecclesiastical documents that Eusebius must have brought back from the synods he attended (Ancyra in 325; Nicaea in 325; perhaps Nicomedia in 327; Antioch between 328 and 331; Caesarea in ca. 321 and in 334; Tyre in 335; Constantinople in 336), some of which are noted above, Eusebius must have corresponded with

<sup>56</sup> Cf. H. A. Drake, "What Eusebius Knew," *CP* (1988), p. 29.

<sup>57</sup> *VC* III.24.2: σχολῆς δ' ἂν γένοιτο ταῦτα ἐπ' οἰκείας ὑποθέσεως συναγαγεῖν, ὥς ἂν μὴ τὸ σῶνα τῆς παρούσης ἡμῖν διακόπτοιτο ἱστορίας. ("Perhaps there may be some leisure to put these things [letters] together in their own collection, lest the body of our present narrative be interrupted.")

<sup>58</sup> So P. S. Davies, "Constantine's Editor," *JTS* 42 (1991), pp. 616–617, plausibly argues that Eusebius omitted anti-Arian documents.

bishops and, moreover, obtained their theological writings. For example, in the early stages of the Arian Controversy, Eusebius and *Alexander of Alexandria* seem to have exchanged letters.<sup>59</sup> Although direct evidence is lacking, it would not be unlikely if Eusebius also received a copy of *Arius' Thalia*, for Arius was given refuge in Palestine after he was condemned in Alexandria. Later, Eusebius and *Eustathius of Antioch* apparently engaged each other in writing, and, accordingly, one assumes that Eusebius possessed some of Eustathius' theological treatises.<sup>60</sup> Similarly, Eusebius and *Marcellus of Ancyra* debated in writing, and, to judge from Eusebius' quotations of Marcellus in his *Contra Marcellum* and *De ecclesiastica theologia*, it is evident that the library at Caesarea included Marcellus' treatise against Asterius the Sophist, but perhaps also some of his other writings.<sup>61</sup> In the case of *Asterius the Sophist*, Eusebius may have known not only the works he composed in the Arian Controversy but also his exegetical works, since he refers to Asterius in his commentary on the Psalms.<sup>62</sup> To be sure, Eusebius must have had even more letters and tracts that were produced by the parties disputing Arius' theology.

<sup>59</sup> According to Epiphanius, Eusebius was one of the bishops sent a letter by Alexander of Alexandria in ca. 319; see H. G. Opitz, *Urkunden* III.4. Eusebius' response appears at Opitz, *Urkunden* III.7, an excerpt from the Second Council of Nicaea (787).

<sup>60</sup> On the quarrel between Eusebius and Eustathius, see Socrates, *HE* I.23; Sozomen, *HE* II.18; C. Luibheid, *Eusebius of Caesarea and the Arian Crisis* (Dublin, 1981), pp. 60–63. On Eustathius' writings, see Jerome, *De viribus ill.* 85. There is extant a work against Origen's interpretation of 1 Kings. 28, the Witch of Endor, called *De engastrimytho* (A. Jahn, ed., in *TU* II.2 [Leipzig, 1886]; see also E. Klostermann, ed., in *KT* 83 [Berlin, 1912]). For bibliography, see M. Simonetti, "Eustathius of Antioch," *EEC* I (1992), p. 303.

<sup>61</sup> The fragments of Marcellus' writings are known largely from Eusebius' tracts against him: see the edition by E. Klostermann, revised by G. C. Hansen in 1972 and reprinted in 1991. Recent studies include K. Seibt, *Die Theologie des Markell von Ancyra*, Arbeiten zur Geschichte 59 (Berlin, 1994) and J. T. Lienhard, *Contra Marcellum: Marcellus of Ancyra and Fourth Century Theology* (Washington, DC, 1999).

<sup>62</sup> Eusebius obviously knew of Asterius through Marcellus, since Eusebius' quotations of Marcellus in the *Contra Marcellum* and *De ecclesiastica theologia* refer to Asterius. But, Eusebius may have also known Asterius' Arian works firsthand. Eusebius, *Comm. in Ps.* 4 (PG 23: 112A–B), refers to Asterius' interpretation of Psalm 4, although the note to the edition in Migne explains that this passage appears as an addition in only one manuscript. Of Asterius' works, some homilies and fragments of a commentary on the Psalms are extant. For bibliography, see M. Simonetti, "Asterius the Sophist," *EEC* I (1992), p. 92.

## CHAPTER NINE

### SUMMARY LIST OF THE CONTENTS OF EUSEBIUS' LIBRARY

The following list sets out, according to the results of this study, what Eusebius had available to him in his library at Caesarea. The works that Eusebius himself used or to the existence of which he attests are numbered, while those to which Origen refers are marked by asterisks, even though I suspect that many, if not all, of these works were still available in the library at Caesarea in Eusebius' day.

The number of works will vary according to how works are divided (for example, some dossiers are listed below) and according to one's judgment of which works have been shown to have been at Caesarea. The minimum seems to be 288 works, but this is a very conservative estimate, since, for example, the works of Origen not specifically named by Eusebius are excluded. A more generous estimation counts Origen's works and those works to which Origen refers (works marked by asterisks), plus some other works that have rather weaker evidence of their having been in the library (works marked below by question marks). There were more than 400 works by this reckoning. Again, though, the likelihood that Eusebius' library contained more works, even many more works, deserves emphasis.

#### PHILOSOPHERS

- (1) Alexander of Aphrodisias, *On Fate* (*De fato*).
- (2) Amelius Gentilianus of Etruria, *Scholia* in one hundred books; or a *Refutation of the Book of Zostrian* in forty books. Eusebius may have had only parts of one or the other work.
- (3) Aristocles of Messana, *On Philosophy* (*De philosophia*) in ten books.  
\* Aristotle?
- (4) Arius Didymus, *Epitome*.
- (5) Atticus, *Against Those Who Promise the Teachings of Plato in Aristotle* (Πρὸς τοὺς διὰ τῶν Ἀριστοτέλους τὰ Πλάτωνος ὑπισχνουμένους).
- (6) *Corpus Hermeticum* VII, "That the Greatest Evil among Men is Ignorance of God."

- (7) Diogenianus, an attack on the doctrine of Fate.
- (8) Longinus, *On the Soul* (περὶ ψυχῆς).
  - \* Longinus?
- (9) Numenius of Apamea, *On the Good* (*De bono*; Περὶ τἀγαθοῦ) in six books.
  - \* Numenius, *On the Incorruptibility of the Soul* (*De incorruptibilitate animae*).
  - \* Numenius, *On the Hoopoe* (*De upupa*).
  - \* Numenius, *On Numbers* (*De numeris*).
  - \* Numenius, *On Place* (*De loco*).
- (10) Numenius, *On the Secrets of Plato* (*De Platonis secretis*).
- (11) Numenius, *On the Disagreement of the Academics with Plato* (*De Academiae erga Platonem dissensu*; Περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἀκαδημαϊκῶν προς Πλάτωνα διαστάσεως).
- (12) Oenomaus of Gadara, *Unmasking of Charlatans* (Γοήτων φόρα).
- (13) Philostratus of Athens, *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* (*Vita Apollonii Tyanensis*).
- (14) Sossianus Hierocles, *Truth-loving Discourse Addressed to the Christians* (Φιλαλήθης λόγος πρὸς Χριστιανούς).
- (15) Moeragenes, *Memoirs of the Magician and Philosopher Apollonius of Tyana* (Τὰ Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Τυανέως μάγου καὶ φιλοσόφου ἀπομνημονεύματα).
- (16) Plato, *Timaeus*.
- (17) Plato, *Theaetetus*.
- (18) Plato, *Phaedrus*.
- (19) Plato, *Respublica*.
- (20) Plato, *Politicus*.
- (21) Plato, *Phaedo*.
- (22) Plato, *Leges*.
- (23) Plato, *Epistulae* II, VI, VII, XIII (and possibly the others).
- (24) Plato, *Apologia*.
- (25) Plato, *Cratylus*.
- (26) Plato, *Crito*.
- (27) Plato, *Gorgias*.
- (28) Plato, *Philebus*.
- (29) Plato, *Sophista*.
- (30) Plato, *Symposium*.
- (31) Plato, *Epinomis*.
- (32) Plato, *Euthyphro*?
- (33) Plato, *Alcibiades I*?

- (34) Plotinus, *Enneads*. Also an edition produced by Eustochius?
- (35) Plutarch, *De defectu oraculorum*.
- (36) Plutarch, *De E apud Delphos*.
- (37) Plutarch, *On Isis and Osiris* (*De Iside et Osiride*).
- (38) Plutarch, *De Daedalis Plataeensisibus*.
- (39) Plutarch, *On the Soul* (*De anima*).
- ? Plutarch, *De garrulitate*.
- (40) Ps.-Plutarch, *Stromateis*.
- (41) Ps.-Plutarch, *Placita philosophorum*.
- (42) Porphyry, *On Abstinence* (*De abstinence*; Περὶ ἀποχῆς ἐμψύχων).
- (43) Porphyry, *To Boethus on the Soul* (*Ad Boethum de anima*; Περὶ ψυχῆς πρὸς Βόηθον).
- (44) Porphyry, *On the Cult of Idols* (*De cultu simulacrorum*; Περὶ ἀγαλμάτων).
- (45) Porphyry, *Letter to Anebo* (*Epistula ad Anebonem*; Πρὸς Ἀνεβώ).
- (46) Porphyry, *On Philosophy from Oracles* (*De philosophia ex oraculis haurienda*; Περὶ τῆς ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφίας).
- (47) Porphyry, *Literary Discourse* (*Recitatio philologica*; Φιλόλογος ἀκρόασις).
- (48) Porphyry, *History of Philosophy* (*Historia philosophica*; Φιλόσοφος ἱστορία).
- (49) Porphyry, *Against the Christians* (*Adversus Christianos*; Κατὰ Χριστιανῶν).
- (50) Severus, *On the Soul* (*De anima*; Περὶ ψυχῆς).
- (51) Xenophon, *Memorabilia*.
- (52) Ps.-Xenophon, *Letter to Aeschines* (*Epistula ad Aeschinem*).
  - \* Chaeremon the Stoic, *On Comets* (Περὶ κομητῶν).
  - \* Cornutus.
  - \* Cronius.
  - \* Apollophanes.
  - \* Moderatus of Gades.
  - \* Nicomachus of Gerasa.
  - \* Aristotelian Lexicon.
  - \* Herophilus, Stoic Lexicon.
  - \* A work or works on physiognomy (perhaps by Zopyrus, Loxus, or Polemon).
  - \* Zeno, *Republic*?
  - \* Musonius Rufus?
  - \* Chrysippus, *Therapeutic* (Θεραπευτικὸς περὶ παθῶν).
  - \* Chrysippus, *Introduction to the Subject of Good and Evil* (Περὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν εἰσαγωγή).
  - \* Chrysippus, *On Fate* (*De fato*).
  - \* Celsus, *True Doctrine* (Ἀληθὴς λόγος).

- \* Anonymous, *On the Voice* (Περὶ φωνῆς).
- \* Sextus, *Maxims* (Γνώμαι).
- \* A work on astronomy?
- \* Xenocrates, *Lithognomon*.
- \* Galen?

In addition, some handbooks and doxographies were probably available, and other works by authors listed here (for example, Plato) may have been available.

Total: 52 (Eusebius) + approximately 26 (Origen) = approximately 78 works.

### POETS

- (1) Homer, *Iliad*.
- (2) Homer, *Odyssey*.
- (3) Hesiod, *Works and Days*.
  - ? An anthology (especially on Fate, Providence, and freedom).
  - \* Other anthologies?

### ORATORS

- ? Rhetorical handbooks.

### HISTORIANS

- (1) Abydenus, *Assyrian History*.
- (2) Alexander Polyhistor, *On the Jews* (*De Iudaeis*; Περὶ Ἰουδαίων).
- (3) Alexander Polyhistor, *Assyrian-Babylonian History* (Χαλδαιικά or Ἀσσυριακά).
- (4) Cassius Longinus, Olympiad Chronicle in 18 books.
  - ? Phlegon of Tralles, Olympiad Chronicle in 14 books.
  - ? Thallus, Olympiad Chronicle in 3 books.
- (5) Castor of Rhodes, Chronicle in 6 books.
- (6) Cephalion, *Muses* (Μοῦσαι) in 9 books.
- (7) Diodorus Siculus, *Library of World History* (*Bibliotheca*), books I, III, IV, VI, XX, and perhaps some or all of the remaining 33 books.
- (8) Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* (*Antiquitates Romanae*),

books I and II and perhaps some or all of the remaining 18 books.

- (9) Manetho, *Egyptian History* (Αἰγυπτιακά). Eusebius seems to have used an epitome of the three books.
- (10) Manetho, *Sacred Book* (Ἱερά βίβλος).  
? Manetho, *Epitome of Physical Doctrines*.
- (11) Philo of Byblos, *Phoenician History* (*Historia Phoenicia*; ἡ Φοινικικὴ ἱστορία).
- (12) Philo of Byblos, *On the Jews* (*De Iudaeis*; Περὶ Ἰουδαίων).  
? Herodotus.  
? Thucydides.  
? Cassius Dio.

### JEWISH LITERATURE

- (1) Aristaeas, *Letter to Philocrates* (*Epistula ad Philocratem*).
- (2) Aristobulus, *Explanation of the Law of Moses* (*Explanatum in Moysen commentarios*).
- (3) Josephus, *Jewish War* (*Bellum Iudaicum*).
- (4) Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* (*Antiquitates Iudaicae*). Included in this work was Josephus' *Vita*.
- (5) Josephus, *Against Apion* (*Contra Apionem*).
- (6) Old Testament (Septuagint text and other translations).  
\* *Book of Enoch* (*1 Enoch*).  
\* *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*.  
\* *Prayer of Joseph*.  
\* *Book of Jannes and Mambres*.  
\* Apocryphal work on Abraham (*Apocalypse of Abraham* or *Inquisitio Abrahae?*).  
\* Apocryphal work on Isaiah (*Martyrdom of Isaiah?*).  
\* Apocryphal work on Elijah (*Apocalypse of Elijah?*).  
\* *Ascension* or *Assumption of Moses?*  
\* *3 Baruch?*
- (7) Philo of Alexandria, *Allegories of the Law* (*Legum allegoriae*) in 3 books, but probably also including the *Quod deterius, De posteritate, De cherubim, De sacrificiis, and De opificio mundi*.
- (8) Philo, *Questions and Solutions on Genesis* (*Quaestiones et solutiones ad Genesim*) in 6 books.
- (9) Philo, *Questions and Solutions on Exodus* (*Quaestiones et solutiones ad Exodum*).



- (10) Philo, *On Agriculture* (= *De agricultura* and *De plantatione*).
- (11) Philo, *De ebrietate* in 2 books.
- (12) Philo, *De sobrietate*.
- (13) Philo, *De confusione linguarum*. Possibly joined in one work with the *De sobrietate*.
- (14) Philo, *De fuga et inventione*.
- (15) Philo, *De congressu*.
- (16) Philo, *Quis heres*.
- (17) Philo, *De [tribus] virtutibus*.
- (18) Philo, *De mutatione*.
- (19) Philo, *De migratione*.
- (20) Philo, *De Abrahamo*.
- (21) Philo, *De gigantibus*.
- (22) Philo, *Quod Deus*.
- (23) Philo, *De somniis* in 5 books.
- (24) Philo, *On the Tabernacle*.
- (25) Philo, *De Decalogo*.
- (26) Philo, *De specialibus legibus* in 4 books.
- (27) Philo, *De victimis*.
- (28) Philo, *De praemiis*.
- (29) Philo, *De providentia* in one book.
- (30) Philo, *Hypothetica* in at least 2 books. Possibly the same work as the *Apologia pro Iudaeis*.
- (31) Philo, *De Iudaeis* in one book. Possibly the same work as the *Apologia pro Iudaeis*.
- (32) Philo, *De Iosepho*.
- (33) Philo, *De animalibus*.
- (34) Philo, *Quod omnis probus liber sit*, together with its companion.
- (35) Philo, *On the Contemplative Life* (*De vita contemplativa*).
- (36) Philo, *De virtutibus* in 5 books, including the *In Flaccum* and *Legatio ad Gaium*.  
     ? Philo, *Life of Moses* (*De vita Moysis*).  
     ? Philo, *De aeternitate mundi*.
- (37) Ps.-Philo, *Interpretation of Hebrew Names in the Law and Prophets*.

#### CHRISTIAN AUTHORS AND DOCUMENTS

- (1) *Acts of Thaddeus* (ἡ περὶ τὸν Θαδδαῖον ἱστορία).
- (2) Agrippa Castor, *Refutation of Basilides* (κατὰ Βασιλείδου ἔλεγχος).

- (3) Alexander of Jerusalem, Letters.
- (4) Anatolius of Laodicea, *On Pascha* (Περὶ τοῦ πάσχα).
- (5) Anatolius of Laodicea, *Introduction to Arithmetic* (ἡ ἀριθμητικὴ εἰσαγωγή) in 10 books.
- (6) Anatolius of Laodicea, other works, probably including exegetical works.
- (7) Anonymous Anti-Montanist.
- (8) Apollonius, *Against the Montanists*.
- (9) Ariston of Pella, a history of the Jewish Wars.  
 \* Anonymous, *Dialogue of Jason and Papiscus* (*Altercatio Iasonis et Papisci*).
- (10) Bardesanes, *Dialogue on Fate* (Περὶ εἰμαρμένης). This work is the same as the *Book of the Laws of Countries* (*Liber legum regionum*).
- (11) Beryllus of Bostra, Letters.
- (12) Beryllus of Bostra, other works.
- (13) Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis* in 8 books.
- (14) Clement of Alexandria, *Hypotyposes* in 8 books.
- (15) Clement of Alexandria, *Protrepticus*.
- (16) Clement of Alexandria, *Paedagogus* in 3 books.
- (17) Clement of Alexandria, *Which Rich Man Will Be Saved?* (*Quis dives salvetur*).
- (18) Clement of Alexandria, *On Pascha*.
- (19) Clement of Alexandria, *On Fasting*.
- (20) Clement of Alexandria, *On Slander*.
- (21) Clement of Alexandria, *Exhortation to Endurance, to the Newly Baptized*.
- (22) Clement of Alexandria, *Ecclesiastical Canon, or to [against] the Judaizers*.
- (23) Clement of Rome, First and Second Letters.
- (24) Ps.-Clement, *Dialogues of Peter and Apion* and, perhaps, other writings.
- (25) Dionysius of Alexandria, Letters regarding the Novatianist Controversy.
- (26) Novatianist Dossier: letters of Clement of Rome and Cyprian of Carthage.
- (27) Dionysius of Alexandria, Letters on the Baptismal Controversy.
- (28) Dionysius of Alexandria, Festal Letters.
- (29) Dionysius of Alexandria, Letters on Sabellianism.
- (30) Dionysius of Alexandria, *On Nature, to Timothy* in more than one book.

- (31) Dionysius of Alexandria, *On Temptations, to Euphranor*.
- (32) Dionysius of Alexandria, other letters (including to Basilides).
- (33) Dionysius of Alexandria, *On Promises* (Περὶ ἐπαγγελιῶν).
- (34) Gaius of Rome, *Dialogue with Proclus*.  
\* Heracleon, *Commentary on the Gospel of John*.
- (35) Hermas, *The Shepherd*.
- (36) Hippolytus of Rome, *On Pascha* (Περὶ τοῦ πάσχα).
- (37) Hippolytus of Rome, *On the Hexaemeron* (Εἰς τὴν Ἑξαήμερον).
- (38) Hippolytus of Rome, *On the Things That Happened after the Hexaemeron* (Εἰς τὰ μετὰ τὴν Ἑξαήμερον).
- (39) Hippolytus of Rome, *Against Marcion* (Πρὸς Μαρκίωνα).
- (40) Hippolytus of Rome, *On the Song* (Εἰς τὸ ᾠσμη).
- (41) Hippolytus of Rome, *On Parts of Ezekiel* (Εἰς μέρη τοῦ Ἰεζεκιήλ).
- (42) Hippolytus of Rome, *Against All Heresies* (Πρὸς ἀπάσας τὰς αἵρέσεις).  
Probably the *Syntagma*.
- (43) Ignatius of Antioch, Letters.
- (44) Irenaeus of Lyons, *Against Heresies* (*Adversus haereses*) in 5 books.
- (45) Irenaeus of Lyons, *To Blastus on Schism* (Πρὸς Βλάστον περὶ σχίσματος).
- (46) Irenaeus of Lyons, *To Florinus on Monarchy [of God]* (Πρὸς Φλωρίνον περὶ μοναρχίας ἢ περὶ τοῦ μὴ εἶναι τὸν θεὸν ποιητὴν κακῶν).
- (47) Irenaeus of Lyons, *On the Ogdoad*.
- (48) Irenaeus of Lyons, *On Knowledge* (*De disciplina*; Περὶ ἐπιστήμης).
- (49) Irenaeus of Lyons, *Demonstration of the Apostolic Preaching* (*Demonstratio apostolicae orationis*; Εἰς ἐπίδειξιν τοῦ ἀποστολικοῦ κηρύγματος).
- (50) Irenaeus of Lyons, *Book of Various Dialogues* (*Dialogi de diversis*; βιβλίον διαλέξεων διαφορῶν).
- (51) Judas, *On the Seventy Weeks in Daniel* (Εἰς τὰς παρὰ τῷ Δανιὴλ ἑβδομήκοντα ἑβδομάδας).
- (52) Julius Africanus, *Kestoi*.
- (53) Julius Africanus, Letter to Origen.
- (54) Julius Africanus, *Chronographiae*.
- (55) Julius Africanus, Letter *To Aristides on the Supposed Disagreement between the Genealogies of Christ in Matthew and Luke* (ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς Ἀριστείδην, περὶ τῆς νομιζομένης διαφωνίας τῶν παρὰ Ματθαίῳ τε καὶ Λουκᾷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ γενεαλογιῶν).
- (56) Justin Martyr, *First Apology*.
- (57) Justin Martyr, *Second Apology*.
- (58) Justin Martyr, *Against [or To] the Greeks* (Πρὸς Ἑλλήνας).
- (59) Justin Martyr, *Elenchos* (Ἑλεγχος).

- (60) Justin Martyr, *On the Monarchy of God* (Περὶ θεοῦ μοναρχίας).
- (61) Justin Martyr, *The Harpist* (*Psalties*).
- (62) Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho*.
  - ? Lucian of Antioch, Letter to the Christians of Antioch.
  - ? Maximus, *Adamantine Dialogue* (*De recta in deum fide*).
- (63) Methodius of Olympus, *On Free Will* (*De autexusio*, or *De libero arbitrio*; Περὶ τοῦ αὐτεξουσίου). Eusebius seems to have known the work as *On Matter* (*De materia*; Περὶ τῆς ὕλης) under the authorship of Maximus, whom he believed to have flourished in the late second or early third century.
- (64) Methodius of Olympus, *Aglaophon: On Resurrection*.
- (65) Methodius of Olympus, *Xeno: De creatis*.
  - ? Other works by Methodius of Olympus.
- (66) Heraclitus, *On the Apostle*.
- (67) Candidus, *On the Hexaameron*.
- (68) Apion, *On the Hexaameron*.
- (69) Sextus, *On Resurrection*.
- (70) Arabianus, an unnamed work.
- (71) Anonymous interpreters of Scripture from the second century.
- (72) Anonymous work on the heresy of Artemon [= *Little Labyrinth*].
- (73) New Testament.
- (74) *Acts of Paul*.
- (75) *Apocalypse of Peter*.
- (76) *Epistle of Barnabas*.
- (77) *Didache*.
- (78) *Gospel according to the Hebrews*.
- (79) *Gospel of Peter*.
- (80) *Gospel of Thomas*.
- (81) *Gospel of Matthias*.
  - ? Other gospels.
- (82) *Acts of Andrew*.
- (83) *Acts of John*.
- (84) *Acts of Peter*.
  - ? Other acts.
- (85) *Preaching of Peter*.
  - \* *Proto-Gospel of James*.
  - \* *Gospel of the Egyptians*.
  - \* *Gospel of the Twelve Apostles*.
  - \* *Gospel of Basilides*.
- (86) Origen, *Commentary on John* in 22 books.

- (87) Origen, *Commentary on Genesis* in 12 books.
- (88) Origen, *Commentary on Psalms 1–25*.
- (89) Origen, *Commentary on Lamentations* in 5 books.
- (90) Origen, *On Resurrection* in 2 books.
- (91) Origen, *On Principles* in at least 4 books.
- (92) Origen, *Stromateis* in 10 books.
- (93) Origen, *Commentary on Isaiah* in 30 books.
- (94) Origen, *Commentary on Ezekiel* in 25 books.
- (95) Origen, *Commentary on the Song of Songs* in 10 books.
- (96) Origen, *Contra Celsum* in 8 books.
- (97) Origen, *Commentary on Matthew* in 25 books.
- (98) Origen, *Commentary on the Minor Prophets* in 25 books.
- (99) Origen, Letters.
- (100) Origen, Dialogue with Beryllus of Bostra.
- (101) Origen, Dialogue with Heracleides.
- (102) Origen, *Hexapla*.
- (103) Origen, *Tetrapla*.
- (104) Origen, *Homily on Hebrews*.
- (105) Origen, *Homily on Psalm 82*.
- (106) Origen, *On Martyrdom*.
  - \* Origen. For other works that were probably available to Eusebius, including scholia, homilies, and commentaries, see the appendix to the section on Origen (Jerome's listing of the works of Origen). These works may be counted in various ways, depending upon how they are divided, and so can be counted from between ca. seventy and a hundred works.
- (107) Symmachus, *Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew*.
- (108) Gregory Thaumaturgus, *Panegyric of Origen*.
  - ? Pantaenus.
- (109) Papias of Hierapolis, *Exposition of the Lord's Oracles* in 5 books.
- (110) Dossier on the Paschal Controversy (ca. 190).
- (111) Dossier on Paul of Samosata (ca. 268).
- (112) Phileas of Thmuis, Letter to the Church at Thmuis.
  - \* Pierius of Alexandria, works of exegesis, probably homilies.
  - ? Pierius of Alexandria, *Life of Pamphilus*.
- (113) Accounts of the martyrdoms of Polycarp, of Pionius, and of Carpus, Papyrus, and Agathonice.
- (114) Account of the martyrs of Lyons, with other letters.
- (115) Quadratus, *Apology*.
- (116) Rhodon the Asian, *Against the Heresy of Marcion*.

- (117) Rhodon the Asian, *On the Hexaemeron*.
- (118) Serapion of Antioch, *Letter to Domnus* in more than one book.
- (119) Serapion of Antioch, *Letter to Pontion and Caricon* in more than one book.
- (120) Serapion of Antioch, other letters.
- (121) Serapion of Antioch, *On What Is Called the Gospel of Peter*.
- (122) Succession list of the bishops of Jerusalem.
- (123) Tatian, *Against the Greeks (Oratio ad Graecos)*.
- (124) Tertullian, *Apology*.
- (125) Hegesippus, *Memoirs (Hypomnemata)* in 5 books.
- (126) Dionysius of Corinth, Catholic Letters.
- (127) Theophilus of Antioch, *To Autolytus* in 3 books.
- (128) Theophilus of Antioch, *Against the Heresy of Hermogenes*.
- (129) Theophilus of Antioch, *Catechetical Books*.
- (130) Theophilus of Antioch, *Against Marcion*.
- (131) Melito of Sardis, *On Pascha [On Passover]* in 2 books.
- (132) Melito of Sardis, *On Conduct and the Prophets*.
- (133) Melito of Sardis, *On the Church*.
- (134) Melito of Sardis, *On the Lord's Day*.
- (135) Melito of Sardis, *On the Faith of Man*.
- (136) Melito of Sardis, *On Creation*.
- (137) Melito of Sardis, *On the Subjection of the Senses to Faith*.
- (138) Melito of Sardis, *On the Soul and Body, or Mind*.
- (139) Melito of Sardis, *On Baptism and Truth and Faith and the Birth of Christ*.
- (140) Melito of Sardis, *Book of Prophecy*.
- (141) Melito of Sardis, *On Soul and Body*. But this may be identical with No. 139.
- (142) Melito of Sardis, *On Hospitality*.
- (143) Melito of Sardis, *The Key*.
- (144) Melito of Sardis, *On the Devil and the Apocalypse of John* in at least two books.
- (145) Melito of Sardis, *On the Corporeality of God*.
- (146) Melito of Sardis, *Apology Addressed to Antoninus*.
- (147) Melito of Sardis, *Extracts from the Law and Prophets about the Savior and Our Entire Faith*.
- (148) Apollinarius of Hierapolis, *Apology*.
- (149) Apollinarius of Hierapolis, *Against the Greeks* in 5 books.
- (150) Apollinarius of Hierapolis, *On Truth* in 2 books.
- (151) Apollinarius of Hierapolis, *Against the Jews* in 2 books.

- (152) Apollinarius of Hierapolis, *Against the Heresy of the Phrygians* in more than one book.
- (153) Musanus, a work against the Encratite heresy.

#### CONTEMPORARY DOCUMENTS

- (1) Galerius' Edict of Toleration.
- (2) Sabinus, Letter to the Governor of Palestine.  
? *Acts of Pilate* and Report of Dux.
- (3) Maximin Daia, Rescript to Petitions.
- (4) Maximin Daia, Letter to Sabinus.
- (5) Maximin Daia, Edict of Toleration.
- (6) Records from Antioch, possibly the rescript of the trial of Theotecnus.
- (7) Licinius, Rescript on Toleration ("Edict of Milan").
- (8) Dossier of Constantinian letters: to Anulinus; to Pope Miltiades and Mark; to Chrestus of Syracuse; to Caecilian of Carthage; to Anulinus.  
? Laws of Licinius.  
? Laws of Constantine.
- (9) Constantine, Letter to the Provincials of Palestine.
- (10) Constantine, Letter to the Churches.
- (11) Constantine, Letter to Eusebius.
- (12) Constantine, Letter to the Eastern Provinces.
- (13) Constantine, Letter to Alexander of Alexandria and Arius.
- (14) Dossier on the Council of Nicaea, including an imperial summons, Constantine's opening and farewell speeches, the creed and canons, and Constantine's letter to the churches.
- (15) Constantine, Letter (327).
- (16) Constantine, Letter to Macarius of Jerusalem.
- (17) Constantine, Letter to Macarius and the Other Bishops of Palestine.
- (18) Dossier on the Council of Antioch and the Deposition of Eustathius, including three letters from Constantine.
- (19) Constantine, Edict to Heretics.
- (20) Constantine, Letter to Sapor.
- (21) Constantine, *Oration to the Assembly of Saints*.
- (22) Constantine, Letter to Eusebius.
- (23) Constantine, Letter to Eusebius Requesting Copies of the Scriptures.

- (24) Constantine, Letter to the Synod of Tyre.
- (25) Other letters by Constantine collected by Eusebius but not incorporated into the *VC*.
- (26) Alexander of Alexandria, letters (including to Eusebius).
- (27) Arius, *Thalia*.
- (28) Eustathius of Antioch.
- (29) Marcellus of Ancyra, *Against Asterius*.
- (30) Asterius the Sophist.
- (31) Other letters and works from the Arian Controversy.

In a review of the contents of one scholar's library, it is perhaps impossible to separate the man from the library. The most striking characteristics of Eusebius' library are its wealth of religious literature, its dearth of classical history, poetry, and oratory, and its strength in Middle Platonic works. These characteristics must also indicate the nature of Eusebius' education and the cast of his mind.

Eusebius' library held multiple translations of the Hebrew Scriptures, as well as a variety of Old Testament apocrypha and pseudepigrapha. All of Josephus' works were available, as were practically all the works of the most important Jewish thinker in the period, Philo of Alexandria. So extensive a collection of Philo's works may not have been available anywhere else, especially after the destruction of Alexandria in 270. The collection of Christian works is even more striking, for many of the works (approximately half) that were available to Eusebius are otherwise unknown. Because the survival of ancient literature often depends on chance, it is understandable that some of the works known to Eusebius have not survived. Even so, the number of otherwise unknown works available to Eusebius makes his library look extraordinary. These works range from the New Testament and its apocrypha and pseudepigrapha to treatises against heresies, apologies, interpretations of Scripture, theological speculations, synodal documents, letters, and accounts of martyrdoms from both the second and third centuries, but also including works of contemporaries like Lucian of Antioch and Methodius of Olympus.

The collection of Origen's works—not all, but certainly a majority of them—makes Caesarea especially significant. Pamphilus and Eusebius had a special devotion to Origen, as the creation of *pinakes* of Origen's works (*HE* VI.32.3) and as their production of the *Defense of Origen* would indicate. The collection was likely unrivalled and supplied copies for such important later scholars as Jerome and



Rufinus, and perhaps also Gregory Nazianzen (for his *Philocalia*), all of whom ensured the transmission of some part of Origen's work to later ages.

Some important Greek works are missing, however: the *Epistle to Diognetus*, Athenagoras' *Legatio*, and the works of the various heresiarchs. Yet, Eusebius may have intentionally passed over some heretical works in silence in the *HE* because he wished to emphasize the unity and coherence of Christian thought and not simply because he lacked copies of the works.

There are, in addition, noticeably few Western works in Latin: Eusebius cites a Greek translation of Tertullian's *Apologia*, but he does not refer to any of Tertullian's other works; and only one letter by Cyprian reached Eusebius in Latin (apparently through a dossier sent to Dionysius of Alexandria), though none of Cyprian's other works did. Eusebius possessed other, Greek works from the West, for example the works of Clement of Rome, Justin Martyr, Irenaeus of Lyons, and Hippolytus, so presumably Latin works from the West were not impossibly difficult to obtain. One suspects that little effort was expended to acquire Latin works. Eusebius seems to have had some ability to translate from Latin, but perhaps he and others at Caesarea found it too difficult to spend time on long works in Latin. This absence of works in Latin is perhaps an indication of the theological separation between East and West that continued until the late stages of the Arian controversy.<sup>1</sup>

It seems that handbooks, anthologies, and other intermediaries often served as Eusebius' sources for materials in poetry and rhetoric. Eusebius must have studied both subjects in his early education. But Eusebius' rhetorical education was probably much more limited than that of such later Fathers as Basil of Caesarea, who studied for five years in Athens under the best teachers, and Gregory Nazianzen, who spent ten years in Athens and taught rhetoric himself.<sup>2</sup> At the

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<sup>1</sup> J. Ulrich, "Nicaea and the West," *Vigiliae Christianae* 51 (1997), pp. 10–24, for example, argues that Western theology played no role in the Arian controversy until the 340s.

<sup>2</sup> Basil may also have taught: see P. Fedwick, *The Church and the Charisma of Leadership in Basil of Caesarea* (Toronto, 1979), p. 135. On the rhetorical skills of these two saints, see G. L. Kustas, "Saint Basil and the Rhetorical Tradition," *Basil of Caesarea, Christian, Humanist, Ascetic: a Sixteen-Hundredth Anniversary Symposium*, P. J. Fedwick, ed. (Toronto, 1981), pp. 221–279; F. Trisoglio, *Gregorio di Nazianzo il teologo*, *Studia patristica mediolanensia* 20 (Milan, 1996), pp. 185–221.

least, Eusebius seems not to have profited from his rhetorical training as much as the Cappadocians. When Origen conducted his school, students read poetry at Caesarea, so there may well have been anthologies already in the library when Eusebius came to it. Yet, it is difficult to believe that Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and probably also Hesiod's *Works and Days*, could not also have been found in the library, even if there were no complete texts of Pindar, Euripides, or Demosthenes, all popular authors in the period.

Of the historians, it is a reasonable assumption that Eusebius read at least parts of the works of Herodotus and Thucydides, if only as a schoolboy, yet there is no evidence that copies of these works were available in the library. What clearly were available were chronicles, notably those of Julius Africanus and Castor of Rhodes, as well as the Olympiad chronicle of Cassius Longinus, and perhaps those of Phlegon and Thallus. So also were the histories of the various nations: Dionysius of Halicarnassus on the Romans; Alexander Polyhistor on the Jews and on the Babylonians; Manetho on the Egyptians; Abydenus on the Babylonians; Philo of Byblos on the ancient Phoenicians; and Diodorus on several of these nations. All of these works, of course, were of great assistance to Eusebius when he set about composing his *Chronicon* and, later, *PE*. Which of them Eusebius had to acquire himself in order to compose the *Chronicon* is not known, but it is unlikely to have been many; Eusebius used the materials he had at hand. These chronicles and world histories helped Eusebius to see history on the grand scale so that, eventually, when he saw a Christian become Roman emperor, Eusebius could recognize this event as the culmination of God's providential decision to place the Incarnation at the beginning of the *pax Augusta*.

Of the philosophical works, the main schools, apart from the Sceptics, were represented in the library at Caesarea. Eusebius uses the works of two philosophers he calls Peripatetics, Alexander of Aphrodisias and Aristocles of Messana; he uses the work of one Cynic, Oenomaus; and he uses the work of one Epicurean, Diogenianus (though Eusebius calls him a Peripatetic). It is also possible that a few of Aristotle's works were in the library. Moreover, if the works of Chaeremon, Cornutus, Chrysippus, Zeno, and Musonius Rufus that Origen used were still available at Caesarea, then Eusebius' library included a sizeable number of Stoic works.

It is certainly the Platonic school, however, that is most fully represented in the library's holdings: Plato, in a complete or nearly

complete edition, and Xenophon (fourth century BC); Atticus, Celsus, Numenius, Plutarch, Severus (all from the second century); Amelius and Longinus (from the third century); and Neopythagoreans from the first and second centuries used by Origen like Cronius, Moderatus, and Nicomachus. Eusebius admired Plato for his intelligence and grasp of the truth (*PE* XIII.13.66), and even when he intended to criticize Greek philosophy, Eusebius was careful to explain that of all the Greeks Plato most closely approached the truths of Christianity.<sup>3</sup>

But Eusebius' Platonism was the Middle Platonism of the authors in his library. While Eusebius knew the work of Plotinus, for example, he seems to have been unaffected by Plotinus' more complicated, Neoplatonic concepts.<sup>4</sup> Similarly, Eusebius possessed several works by Porphyry, but Eusebius is chiefly interested in exploiting these works for his apologetic purposes rather than for their own philosophical ideas. As T. D. Barnes has observed, it is also noticeable that Eusebius seems unaware of the other important contemporary Neoplatonist, the Syrian Iamblichus.<sup>5</sup> Eusebius' Middle Platonism is most clearly evident in his theology, for, when the Arian crisis erupted, Eusebius showed himself sympathetic to the Arian explanation of the Son because it, too, was based on Middle Platonic ideas; Arius presented a Christology that allowed a perfect, remote being as first divine principle, as well as a subordinate being, the Son and Logos, as a second, begotten divine principle.<sup>6</sup> Eusebius was a characteristic churchman of his age in this respect, and it would take three or four decades before the "old-fashioned" Platonism, as Stead calls it, yielded to the influence of Neoplatonism. Later, when Basil and Gregory of Nyssa began to read Plotinus, it was

<sup>3</sup> See *PE* XI.proem, 3. See also M. Frede, "Eusebius' Apologetic Writings," *Apologetics in the Roman Empire*, M. Edwards et al., edd. (Oxford, 1999), pp. 246–250.

<sup>4</sup> See J. Rist, "Basil's 'Neoplatonism': Its Background and Nature," *Basil of Caesarea, Christian, Humanist, Ascetic: a Sixteen-Hundredth Anniversary Symposium*, P. J. Fedwick, ed. (Toronto, 1981), pp. 140–165.

<sup>5</sup> T. D. Barnes, *CE*, p. 168.

<sup>6</sup> On Eusebius' theology, see especially F. Ricken, "Die Logoslehre des Eusebios von Caesarea und der Mittelplatonismus," *Theologie und Philosophie* 42 (1967), pp. 341–358; J. T. Lienhard, *Contra Marcellum: Marcellus of Ancyra and Fourth Century Theology* (Washington, DC, 1999), pp. 104–135; H. Strutwolf, *Die Trinitätstheologie und Christologie des Euseb von Caesarea: eine dogmengeschichtliche Untersuchung seiner Platonismuszereption und Wirkungsgeschichte*, *Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte* 72 (Göttingen, 1999). On Arius, see G. C. Stead, "Was Arius a Neoplatonist?" *Studia Patristica* 31 (1997), pp. 39–52; Idem, "Philosophy in Origen and Arius," *Origeniana Septima*, W. A. Bienert and U. Kühneweg, edd. (Leuven, 1999), pp. 101–108.

then not a matter of how much Plotinus was read, for they may have read little more of the *Enneads* than had Eusebius, but of how it was understood and applied to Christian theology.<sup>7</sup> Eusebius was not a philosopher, nor was he a particularly innovative theologian; he was, rather, fundamentally conservative, trained to preserve what had been handed down to him. So, too, although Eusebius could justly claim to have done something new in his works of history, the *Chronicon* (cf. p. 8 Helm; *PE* X.9.2) and *HE* (cf. *HE* I.1.3), and apologetics, the *PE* and *DE* (cf. *PE* I.3.4–5), his aim was to defend the faith that had been transmitted to him at Caesarea.

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<sup>7</sup> On the Neoplatonism of Basil and Gregory, see J. Rist, "Basil's Neoplatonism," pp. 190–220, with criticism by R. P. C. Hanson, *The Search for the Christian Doctrine of God* (Edinburgh, 1988), pp. 856–869, as well as in general on the Cappadocians at pp. 676–737.

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